DEPORTATION DELIRIUMS: LAURENT B. FRANTZ

THE Nation

March 26, 1955

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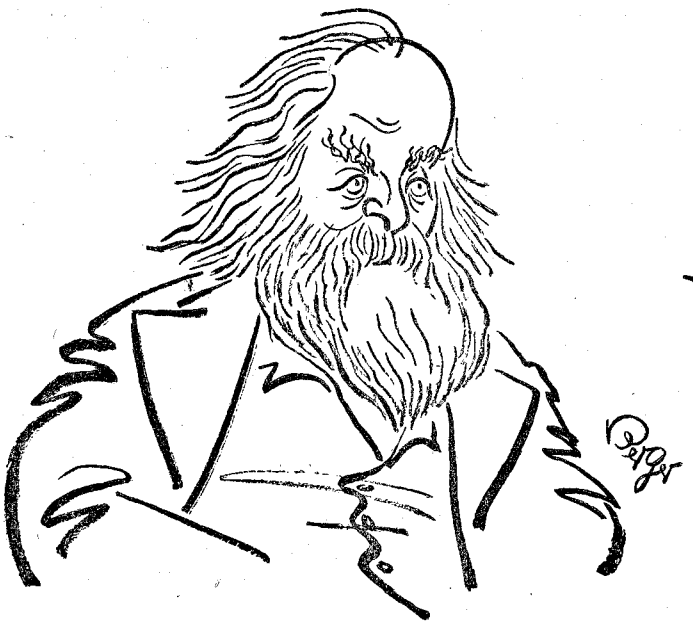

The World of Walt Whitman

by Maxwell Geismar

MAR 26 1955

PACIFIC LUTHERAN COLLEGE

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Haitian Volcano — *Bernard D. Nossiter*

More Labor Unity — *Harvey O'Connor*

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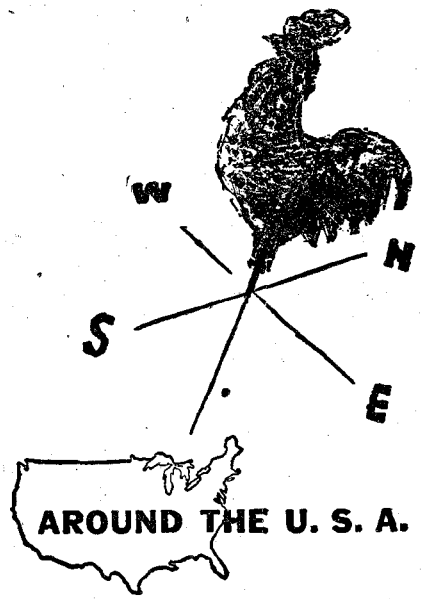

An Experiment In Militant Journalism

Littleton, Colorado

WHEREVER working newspapermen gather, the discussion turns sooner or later to the feasibility of starting a newspaper in a large city. Marshall Field was the last one to try it—that was thirteen years ago. Other publishers have added a morning or evening paper to one already established, but the Chicago *Sun* is the only major independent newspaper launched in recent years.

The news and editorial policies of most metropolitan newspapers are conservative. The enormous expense of publishing a large newspaper has made it impossible for anyone but a multimillionaire to enter the field. How, then, is the liberal viewpoint to get a hearing?

A decade ago Nelson Poynter of the St. Petersburg (Florida) *Times* suggested that small dailies in big cities might use syndicated offset pages, but the experiment was never tried. Another method was worked out for a metropolitan weekly by Gene Cervi of Denver, whose *Cervi's Journal* is now completing five successful years. "I got the idea for the *Journal* twenty-five years ago when I saw a legal publication at the courthouse," Cervi recalls. "I thought how ridiculous it was to go to all the trouble of publishing a newspaper and come up with something so dull."

Cervi mulled this over for twenty years, and on September 24, 1949, he converted *Cervi's News Letter* into a regular printed newspaper with a tabloid format and restrained headlines. "Our formula is very simple," he says. "Just take an ordinary reporting service and breathe some life into it."

His reporting service handles such things as building notes and permits, newcomers to Denver, prominent hotel guests, conventions, chattel mortgages, new Denver businesses, trust deeds, petitions in bankruptcy, local stock quotations, real-estate transfers, car sales, coming events, and brief reviews of books for business. It may sound dull, but Cervi makes it as bright as possible. He provides vital news to several thousand business men who like it packaged in one place—once a week.

"I think most people look first for the dynamic front-page story, the think piece on the editorial page, and the back page about people," Cervi will tell you. "I have fought against the gossip column, and I don't believe our back page is gossip. If we ever print trivia, we name it just that."

Cervi does not worry if the two big dailies get the news ahead of him. "We print spot news but we interpret it," he explains. "A paper like the *Journal* must be started by local working newsmen who know their territory. My twenty years as a reporter around Denver were invaluable to me."

WHILE most papers have given up personal journalism, Cervi has revived it. He attacks people, and he does it week after week. "But I seldom throw a brick through a man's greenhouse unless he has two million dollars," he once joked to fellow-newsmen. Since his page-one piece maybe full of opinions, he sometimes warns the reader with a small caption: "an *editorialized* news report."

The *Journal* has a circulation of 4,000 and costs $12 a year. "When a man pays $12 for a weekly," he says modestly, failing to credit his own flair for writing, "he is going to read it thoroughly, and that means results for the advertisers." "I believe our peak circulation will be 5,000," he has said. "If we go beyond that we shall probably begin to get cautious." Like all honest editors, Cervi strives to keep his independence. His biggest advertiser accounts for only 2 per cent of his gross, and so he has not had to do any pussyfooting so far.

Cervi prints twenty pages on extra-quality forty-pound newsprint and hopes to go to thirty-two pages this winter. His rates for his 125 advertisers per issue are almost as high as the Denver dailies charge—from 17 to 29 cents a line. He justifies these rates by the thoroughness with which well-to-do subscribers read his paper. His average reader probably has an income four or five times that of the metropolitan daily.

In order to devote his time to the editorial side of the *Journal,* Cervi has it printed by a commercial establishment. Thus he does not have to spend an hour or so a day discussing inks, paper, machinery, or the shortage of printers. His staff consists of three advertising men, a bookkeeper who runs the office, a circulation man with a girl assistant, an all-round Girl Friday, and an assistant to the editor. He is proud that they all get "Guild wages or better." Fifteen part-time people gather the statistics about bankruptcy and so forth.

"Ray Campbell of the Denver *Post* says our paper is an anomaly," Cervi once remarked to his friends. "He says we get our readers from the business world and then attack business. We believe in free enterprise, but we point out its weaknesses. We try to bridge the gap between the people and the dwindling dailies. There is a bright future in the next twenty years for young men to start weeklies in the Greeley tradition. I would recommend starting in the monopoly towns like Kansas City or Omaha, entering the field with ideas, integrity, and a burning passion. It is not enough to say you are going to fight so and so. You must *do it!*"

The heart of Cervi's formula for a metropolitan weekly is interpretation and opinion. The opinion is personal and the editor sees that his readers don't forget it. Often his main editorial will end with the slightly pugnacious words: "My name is Gene Cervi."

That is a principal reason why 20,000 persons in 4,000 offices rush to get the mail each Thursday morning.

HOUSTON WARING

HOUSTON WARING is editor of the Littleton Independent *of Littleton, Colorado.*

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Perilous Victory

The thin, reluctant majority by which Clement R. Attlee and his "shadow cabinet" ousted Aneurin Bevan from the Parliamentary Labor group may, in effect, be the vote that ousts Attlee from the leaderhip of the Labor Party itself. Without going into the validity of the charge of which Bevan was found guilty—disloyalty to Mr. Attlee as party leader—his exclusion has been a moral defeat for Attlee, and one that cannot be expunged by the further step of expelling Bevan from the party. For what appears certain is that the rank and file of British Labor is both puzzled and shocked by the action of its leadership. Even among those who disapproved of Bevan's sharp, personal challenge to Attlee on the defense issue, many evidently disapprove even more of a leader who, on the eve of a general election, is willing to precipitate a civil war to establish his authority.

Drew Middleton in the New York *Times* of March 20 quotes a Labor M. P., Desmond Donnelly, as telling his constituents: "No surgeon in his right mind cuts his patient in half and solemnly expects him to live." Attlee's action shows how far out of touch he is with the feeling of the party—the unpardonable sin in a leader. A nation-wide poll of Labor votes showed only 24 per cent in favor of expelling Bevan.

Between now and the party conference in September Bevan plans to speak throughout the country in an effort to win enough support in the constituent Labor parties and the trade unions to oust the Attlee leadership. But whether he succeeds or fails, a broken, warring party will have to campaign for seats in an election which may be held in October. It looks very much as if Mr. Attlee had abandoned the idea of ousting the Tories in order to get rid of Aneurin Bevan.

A Thaw in Austria?

Mr. Molotov's recent statement that his government favored the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Austria on the signing of a treaty, has received much favorable attention in Vienna. The two conversations between the Soviet Foreign Minister and the Austrian Ambassador on February 25 and March 2, were marked, it seems, by uncommon cordiality. The details concerning the meetings and the publicity given them in the Soviet press would indicate that Moscow had suddenly developed a new interest in the Austrian aspect of the European problem.

Vienna had expected the Russians to seize upon this issue earlier. Any conciliatory move on Austria between the killing of E. D. C. and the acceptance of the Paris agreements would certainly have embarrassed the Western chancelleries. But the recent suggestion from Molotov is even more welcome, indicating that Moscow sees positive advantages for itself in following a course in regard to Austria which might prevent the damage to East-West relations that has developed in Germany.

Austrian papers close to the government point out that there has never been any opposition to the guarantees against Anschluss that Moscow demands, and that Austria has also been ready to affirm its military neutrality even if, politically and culturally, it feels identified with the West. The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, organ of the Austrian Socialist Party, underlines the fact that in the conversations with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov had insisted that he nourished no suspicion in regard to the present Austrian government but that it was necessary to look ahead and provide against an eventual change in the Austrian attitude in regard to Anschluss.

In the West the Russian suggestions have been received with the usual mistrust. But if mistrust is always going to control policy, it is hard to see how any important difference between East and West can ever be solved.

A Slit in the Curtain

The Des Moines *Register* and Lawrence Soth, who is in charge of its editorial page, have redeemed our reputation for being a good-natured, hospitable, friendly people by suggesting that the Russians send a delegation of farmers to Iowa this summer to see how we raise corn and "high-quality cattle, hogs, sheep, and chickens." In proposing the visit in an editorial (February 10), Mr. Soth also suggested that it might be an "important adventure in human understanding." The President, his eyes "lighting up," promptly endorsed the suggestion but Senator Capehart had misgivings: the Soviets, by aping our methods, might learn how to raise more food which, mysteriously, would "strengthen" communism! In an interesting telephone conversation, Mr. Soth assured us that the reaction to his proposal has been "preponderantly favorable"; he has been inundated with communications from individuals and organizations promising assistance and cooperation. It is not true, he tells us,

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 249

Taxes and Unemployment 251

ARTICLES

Washington in Focus
by Max Freedman 253

Cambodia's Dilemma:
Between East and West
by Muchi 254

Haitian Volcano:
The Pressure for Revolt
by Bernard D. Nossiter 255

More Labor Unity:
Oil, Chemicals Merge
by Harvey O'Connor 257

Deportation Deleriums:
Xenophobia in Action
by Laurent B. Frantz 258

BOOKS

Fox Without Guile
by Joseph Wood Krutch 268

What Do Americans Want?
by Douglas F. Dowd 268

Toward Better Thinking
by Abraham Edel 270

Loyalty Oaths—Past and Present
by Alexander E. Racolin 271

Roosevelt's Record
by Charles A. Madison 272

Books in Brief 273

MUSIC by B. H. Haggin 274

LETTERS 275

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 612
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 276

AROUND THE U. S. A.
Experiment in Militant Journalism
by Houston Waring opposite 249

Cover Design by Oscar Berger

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that the Russians should visit the Dakotas or some area to the north of Iowa; the Crimea and southern Ukraine have farming areas which are, in all important respects, similar to those in Iowa.

Two-Way Passage

Along with this slight slit in the Iron Curtain comes word that eleven editors of Soviet student publications will be permitted to visit certain restricted areas this summer. For this suggestion we are indebted to William Randolph Hearst, Jr., who proposed it in a talk to the National Press Club on February 28. Mr. Hearst's editorial writers, who are finding it difficult nowadays to adjust to the boss's new preference for a "more flexible and imaginative" method of "fighting the battle of competitive coexistence," have endorsed his suggestion (New York *Journal-American,* March 11) but are puzzled, as we are, by the fact that one of the student editors is 31, two are 28, three are 27, one 26, and one 24.

What is interesting about both invitations is that the initiative should have come from private citizens. Why hasn't—why doesn't—the Administration attempt to lift the Iron Curtain even further by proposing other visits? In talks with Mr. Hearst, Khrushchev seemed to be angling for an invitation; such a visit, he said, would be "useful both from an economic point of view and for better mutual understanding." The President, it is good to note, thinks it might be feasible, a little later, to invite Marshal Zhukov to come to this country. But what is more needed, as the *Wall Street Journal* observed, is "an exchange of visits of editors, farmers, doctors, and tourists." Such contacts will not only ease tensions. "There will be one less avenue to understanding," says the *Wall Street Journal,* "if we insist that Russia keep lowered the Iron Curtain that Moscow is willing to lift a little."

"The New Situation"

Just what are the elements of "the new situation" about which the right-wing press has had so much to say since Mr. Dulles returned from the Far East and Sir Winston Churchill addressed Parliament on the H-bomb? Is it merely that a "hardening" of American policy has been noted? There is general agreement that such a change has taken place but it is the reasons underlying it rather than the fact itself which has occasioned so much comment on the right. It is said, for example, that we are now in a state of full readiness; that the "position of strength" toward which we have been building has, at long last, been attained. An account in the March 18 issue of *U. S. News and World Report* is exultant and boastful: the Soviets are now ringed with "new United States retaliation bases, equipped, ready to use"; 1,000 big new jet-bombers are available, and an estimated 10,000 atomic weapons

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have been fashioned. "Result: United States suddenly finds it can deal from real strength, act without risking major war." *Business Week* of March 12, less jubilant, is equally sure that we now hold the trump cards. "The United States will give no more ground to communism in Asia. It will meet force with force, in Southeast Asia as in Formosa. Our defenses in Asia are all of one piece. A Communist attack anywhere along the line will be met with a war on three fronts—from Korea, from Formosa, from the south."

Large Global Assumptions

These and similar reports assume that Eden's "softness" and Dulles's "toughness" reflect domestic political concerns rather than basic disagreements. Implicit in this assumption is another—that the British Labor Party is today so disastrously divided that it has ceased to be a major deterrent to a policy aimed at forcing a showdown. Now that we have, by nearly unanimous assurance, attained the "position of strength" toward which American policy has been pointing since 1950, it will be interesting to see whether we will use the interval of two or three years in which, it is said, we will retain a superiority in nuclear warfare, to seek a general settlement by negotiation or, as *Business Week* suggests, "to enforce peaceful coexistence—whether or not the Communists want to live by their own slogan."

The present is a moment of grave danger not because these assumptions are well-founded—they may not be—but because they are so widely accepted and confidently voiced. Around the arc of the Right it is agreed that the knockout blow has been prepared and our major ally understands that, if necessary, it will be delivered.

Taxes and Unemployment

THERE is something fantastic about the fracas that has been raised over the $20 income-tax relief proposal. The President's charge of "irresponsibility," followed by Humphrey's cry of "silly," could conceivably be accepted as mere politics. But when the Democrats met the threat of veto by modifying the proposal and combining it with repeal of the Administration's tax reductions granted last year for dividends and corporation income, the package became a net revenue budget-balancing one. The opposition was then left in the position of contending that an additional tax saving of 38 cents per week for each taxpayer, plus 19 cents for each of his children, is an inflationary danger to the economy. If this is so, then all pending labor demands for increased wages, and any proposal to increase consumer purchasing power and living standards, is fraught with inflationary dangers to an economy with unused plant capacity in practically every sphere of production and with almost 3,500,000 full-time unemployed—even by the government's own conservative estimates. The absurdity of such a claim is obvious.

At one point in the effort to keep the $20 tax-relief rider alive before the Senate Finance Committee, some Democrats arranged for testimony by Leon Keyserling, head of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Truman, now chief of the Conference on Economic Progress, a private research organization. Keyserling told the committee that, far from causing inflation, the proposal fell short of providing the additional purchasing power needed for a full economy.

That week-end the Keyserling organization had released a pamphlet entitled A National Prosperity Program for 1955, which argues that even if the national economy did expand by 3 per cent this year, as optimistic supporters claim it will under the Administration program, the result would be $20 billion short of the "full-production level" and that unemployment would reach five million. The pamphlet expressed doubt that existing policies would yield a 3 per cent increase in output, and challenged as niggardly government policies in health, education, natural resource development, and other fields. On unemployment compensation, it pointed out that "protection is so weak that close to two million of those unemployed in 1954 exhausted their benefits." On minimum wages, equally important in supporting the incomes of the lowest-bracket group and in protecting others against the runaway of plants to cheap-labor areas, it said: "Proposals are not even in keeping with changes in living costs." On housing, it warned that "with about one-third of all American families living in substandard housing, there is practically no rebuilding of slums, and without this the housing 'boom' may be near the saturation point."

THE pamphlet proposed the expansion of consumer purchasing power through income-tax relief by increasing personal exemptions, the establishment of a $1.25-an-hour minimum wage, and greater government expenditures in the fields in which it criticized present policy as inadequate. It argued that with the prosperity thereby achieved, increased tax revenues would more than offset the increase in outlays and the federal budget would be balanced.

Not without good reason, official Washington professed to regard the pamphlet as Democratic political ammunition for the next campaign, and so informed the press. At his weekly news conference, the President told the reporters that Mr. Keyserling had a plan for spending a good many more billion dollars, for reducing taxes, and for balancing the budget—all at the same time. The President added that he doubted

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that it was a very good or a very practical proposition.

It was, of course, as obvious that the Administration would reject the pamphlet as that the Democrats could use it politically. The Administration's reasons for rejecting it, however, are disturbing. The Keyserling program is based on a breakdown of the Gross National Product—the total output of the economy—and an extension of the figures through 1955. This method was first popularized by government economists—called the "long-haired boys" by business men—in the Roosevelt Administration. Times have changed so much that the method is now used uncritically to obtain all those rosy long-range forecasts which sustain current business confidence. It is the method by which the Republican-controlled Joint Economic Committee found we could have a Gross National Product of $535 billion by 1965; it was the method used by McGraw-Hill to find that we could have an income of $562 billion in 1970.

THE RESULTS you get out of such analyses, of course, depend entirely upon what you put in it. But there is one fundamental difference between the use of the method by the "long-haired boys" and by their successors. The current optimistic forecasts are mechanical exercises in arithmetic; you punch an up-to-date figure into a calculating machine, punch a multiplier for the rate of increase, and wait for the answer. As used by the Keyserling group, however, this result is not the end product, but only an accepted "goal" for the achievement of which a program must be fashioned.

It is nevertheless true that Keyserling's results also reflect what he put into his analysis. The Administration, committed to shifting the economy to eliminate government and stimulate private activity, would certainly come up with an entirely different model. But no issue is drawn with Keyserling on this score for the reason that the government makes no pretense that its policy will or should aim to provide "the full economy" or degree of employment Keyserling postulates. The Employment Act of 1946 may still be law, but in official as well as in business circles it is regarded as an evil.

Officials in Washington are reported to have dismissed the Keyserling document as a "sophisticated version of a highly regimented economy," based on the assumption that "the economy could proceed upward as on a ramp." Yet however one may regard this economist's method of analysis or his program, one hard fact in his pamphlet cannot be ignored. Productivity is shown to have increased by less than 2 per cent annually before 1930, by something less than 3 per cent annually between 1930 and 1950, and 3.7 per cent annally between 1947 and 1953. Some of the recent acceleration reflects the influence of automation. The statistics explain why employment thus far this year has been the same or lower than in 1954, though industrial production is about 4 per cent higher. Since 600,000 to 800,000 new workers are added to the labor supply annually, unemployment has necessarily increased. In a few years the annual additions to the labor market will be much higher, because current additions reflect the low birth rate of the depression period, while the war-time and post-war birth rates were unusually high.

Callousness to large and increasing unemployment is cloaked by the specter of "creeping socialism." Government responsibility is turned on its head, with primacy given to the negative responsibility of avoiding the Scylla of inflation and the Charybdis of a regimented economy. Here is the seductive rationale for giving business free rein as long as there is no threat of dramatic collapse.

Supporters of this position who have themselves no direct political responsibilities are quite open about what they want. The Guaranty Trust Company's survey of December, 1954, after reveling in the promise of unlimited long-range economic growth, warned: "There will be unceasing demands for tax relief to those in lower-income brackets. . . Unless these demands are held in check . . . the promised march toward the new economic frontiers may be tragically retarded, or even stopped in its tracks."

The National City Bank's *Letter* for March is not disturbed by this year's rise in unemployment but only by the fact that others are. It protests that the unemployment figure for January, this year, is far from the "highest unemployment total registered since World War II." It explains that "the unemployment percentage for 1955 (5 per cent) was below the average of the 1900-1953 period, which works out to 7.2 per cent. . . . If ten war years (1917-1918, 1942-1945), and 1950-1953 are left out of account, the unemployed percentage for forty-four peace-time years comes to 8.4 per cent." In the bank's reckoning 1950-1953 are "war" years; indeed, one supposes that any year with less than average unemployment can be so called as long as the small unemployment is due to large military expenditures. Are the bankers telling us that we need war expenditures to keep unemployment down?

What is important today, continues the bank's *Letter,* is to avoid a "deep depression—the 10 to 25 per cent range of unemployment. *The present risk is that, in the effort to drive unemployment down, we will set in motion uncontrollable forces of inflation.*" [Italics ours.] Much better, says the *Letter,* for us to contemplate the Values of Leisure, under which title the following compelling conclusion is drawn: "If jobs for all and avoiding every wastage of labor were proper objectives of economic life, we would repeal the child-labor laws, forbid strikes, and stretch the eight-hour day to twelve or fourteen. Is not a man's time worth something to himself?" If any unemployed person should answer categorically, "no," he would surely be set down as uncouth.

The bank's picture is, of course, not the world in which most people live. But the bankers' economic premises are those to which our government is now devoted.

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Washington in Focus

by Max Freedman

AMONG diplomats in Washington the publication of the Yalta Papers has been greeted with bewilderment tempered with indignation. They dismiss as quite unconvincing the suggestion that the American people have a right to know what happened at Yalta and therefore are entitled to see these papers. These documents do not concern the domestic issues of American politics; they are international in scope and touch the interests of many other nations. As leader of the coalition on which the peace of the world depends, the United States had an obligation to be reticent regarding them.

But the Administration has chosen to cast aside the protests of Sir Winston Churchill, and to compel his reluctant consent to an act of misguided policy which he anyway was powerless to prevent. The resentment of diplomats has been deepened by the knowledge that the State Department published these papers not as a contribution to any cause which sustains the decent hopes of mankind but as a weapon to be used in the scurrilities of American political controversy.

For the last two years the Democrats have been defending their passive role in foreign policy by claiming that they are exercising the restraints of a responsible opposition which has no desire to emulate the methods of the Republican Party. This abstention from Republican methods seems a rather pallid standard of virtue. There is another, and deeper, lesson to be learned from the Yalta Papers. They should teach the Democrats the limits within which a policy of bipartisanship should be allowed to operate.

When Senator Vandenberg was the symbol of bipartisanship, he defined the terms of cooperation to meet the convenience of the Republican Party. He simply stood up in the Senate one day and announced that bipartisanship would not extend to the Far East, the Middle East, and Germany. The State Department had to agree. It had no choice. What is happening today? The exact opposite. On every crucial test the initiative comes from the State Department. Mr. Dulles defines the conditions of cooperation and the Democratic leaders in Congress are required to be the Administration's agents in securing the passage of his legislation or in modifying criticisms which may stir trouble.

THE YALTA Papers serve to keep alive the memory of Republican criticism of Far Eastern policy and the myth that the G. O. P. could have altered events in China.. Today the Democrats are profoundly disturbed about the Formosa problem, the future of Japan, the weakness of Indochina, the failure to enlist the hopes of Asia in the creative adventure of economic partnership, and the numbing sense of Communist power which falls so alarmingly over these endangered areas; and yet not a single memorable protest has been made in the name of the Democratic Party against this drift. Instead, the Republicans have been able to point to the virtual unanimity of Congress in a number of test votes as proof that their policies are protecting the national interest. This facade is false, as everyone in Washington familiar with the doubts and perplexities of many Democrats will easily testify, but the legend of agreement has been allowed to spread until now it has been erected by Mr. Dulles into a virtual claim of immunity from party criticism.

As a result of the splendid enterprise of the New York *Times*, American readers have been able to study the Yalta Papers in detail. What does this new material prove? Does it show that the Democrats threw China into communism by their confused and erratic policies? Not at all. It proves that British military leaders agreed with American officials in believing that Japan would maintain a stubborn and protracted resistance and that therefore Russia's aid had to be secured, perhaps at a high price. This judgment was mistaken, but the error was made in London as well as in Washington. A careful study of these papers will help to destroy two evil legends which have darkened American politics for a decade: the legend that there was some betrayal in Washington that gave Russia these advantages, and the legend that these concessions helped the Communists to sweep Chiang Kai-shek into defeat and exile. There is nothing in the record to back this indictment; it will be self-inflicted folly if the Democratic Party, wincing at the occasional crudities of President Roosevelt, fails to focus public attention on these broad themes.

Where the Yalta Papers are most revealing, it must be confessed, are in the sections on Germany rather than on China. It is a painful study in the infirmities of human judgment to read the confident predictions about Germany so swiftly confounded by the event, and to realize that Britain and Russia and the United States, less than six months before the end of the European war, could have been talking so glibly about the dismemberment of Germany.

A wild surmise cannot be resisted, in reading these documents, that Stalin might have imposed his will on the German settlement and thus altered the destiny of Europe if he had not resorted so openly to the use of military force and the parade of aggressive policies. These papers will be read with cynical realism by Dr. Adenauer's Cabinet. They prove that the West was ready to degrade Germany into an embittered slum after the war and only made it the partner of the United States as a counterweight against Russia.

These lessons, and others like them, will be studied in coming months in various foreign offices and the results of this study will be more important than any momentary triumph which the publication of the Yalta Papers may have won for Mr. Dulles in the confused strategems of Washington's politics.

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CAMBODIA'S DILEMMA

Between East and West . . *by Muchi*

Bangkok, Thailand

SO little news has come out of Cambodia since it threw off the last vestige of French control that I decided to go there and see for myself what was happening. This was before the abdication of King Norodom Sihanouk. Except for a trip to the mysterious ruins of Angkor Wat—to which only Osbert Sitwell's "Escape With Me" does anything like justice—I spent most of my time in Pnom-Penh, the capital. But Cambodia, like Thailand, which it closely resembles in other ways, is a city-state; so Pnom-Penh could tell me all I needed to know. Since I speak the three Oriental languages more or less widely used there, I was fairly well equipped for my trip.

The first thing to strike me was the general thankfulness that the French had at last departed. Whereas long-time enemies of the British Raj in India now speak with affection of the British, hardly anyone in Cambodia has a good word for the French. The only time I heard them praised was in connection with their admirable work in reclaiming Angkor from the jungle, and even then there were complaints that many of the treasures discovered had been taken to Europe and remain to this day in France or the Vatican.

CAMBODIANS might have been able to forget the past if independence had been granted sooner and with better grace. Less than four years ago King Norodom, in despair at seeing the high-sounding promises of "freedom within the French Union" invariably followed by surrenders of shadow rather than of substance, boldly announced to his people that he would either gain true independence within three years or abdicate. Patiently he set to work negotiating with his protectors but was finally convinced that France would only yield to physical power. Thereupon he crossed the Thai frontier in defiance of the French and went to Bangkok, where he announced he would remain until he had rallied world opinion to his cause. Unexpectedly, the Thais made their hospitality dependent on King Norodom's refraining from all political activity. This was a blow from which that energetic and patriotic young man soon recovered; undaunted, he flew to the United States.

There he was able to convince the United States government that the many dissident and anti-French elements in Cambodia would achieve independence by means of Communist arms if their King could not obtain it in a speedier and more satisfactory way. Alarmed by the obvious urgency of the matter, the United States exerted pressure on the French, and something very like true independence was shortly granted. Then came Dienbienphu and the Geneva conference. Cambodia emerged as an entirely free and independent nation except for the link between the piastre and the franc. The King had fulfilled his promise with six months to spare. Better still, his strategy proved almost entirely successful in uniting his country. Perhaps as many as 90 per cent of the dissident elements, all potentially Communist allies, were drawn by the magic of independence to the side of the King.

Immediately after these events King Norodom was caught in a monstrous dilemma. A keen democrat who accepted the responsibilities of leadership only because no one else seemed able to do so, a man dedicated to the speedy establishment of representative government, he found himself in the position of an absolute monarch—what used to be called an "Asiatic tyrant." So few of his countrymen had received higher education or traveled extensively, so few had been trained for the responsibilities of office, that he was forced to take upon himself almost as much authority as King Mongkhut of "Anna and the King of Siam." This was what prompted him to suggest certain constitutional reforms which—according to reports—were frowned upon by the International Armistice Control Commission. At any rate, he is said to have felt that he would be in a better position to fight for his reforms if he laid aside the crown—which he has done—in favor of his father, Norodom Suramarit.

IN SOME ways the future looks bright. The Cambodians are assured that education and representative government will be given them as swiftly as possible. Their country is one of the few possessing cultivatable land greatly in excess of its needs for several generations to come. Though the people are poverty-stricken, the country is potentially rich. Its jungles furnish valuable teak, resins, gums, and other exportable products; its waterways teem with fish in such quantities that dried fish is an important item of export; its arable land can ultimately produce a great rice surplus; beneath the surface lie quantities of precious stones and valuable minerals. Buddhism exerts an even stronger hold on the people than in Thailand, so that they despise wealth and luxury; hence a very moderate prosperity will bring them deep satisfaction. Left to themselves, the Cambodians could probably work out their destiny in a satisfactory way. Unhappily, they have only a remote chance of controlling their own destiny.

Cambodia has two paramount problems, one internal and the other external, but closely linked. The first arises from the great size of the Vietnamese community. The Vietnamese form one-fourth of the popu-

MUCHI is the pseudonym of a European resident of Bangkok.

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lation of six million, and in addition many Cambodian citizens are wholly or largely of Vietnamese descent. In the towns the proportion of Vietnamese—counted by race rather than by nationality—is still higher. Any visitor to Pnom-Penh, the only large town, must be struck by its close resemblance to Saigon. Shopkeepers, clerks, restaurateurs, waiters, and skilled artisans seem all to be either Vietnamese or Chinese. The men of all races generally wear shirts and trousers or shorts of European cut, but the women cling to their national dress, and the Vietnamese tunics and baggy trousers far outnumber the Cambodian sarangs and old-fashioned pannungs. I did not have much contact with the official class, but judging from the surnames of the handful of officials I met, many are of Vietnamese or Chinese descent. This is inevitable in a country where educational opportunities have been so limited and where the truly indigenous inhabitants are mostly too poor to take advantage of such opportunities as exist.

So far, there has been no reason to doubt the loyalty of Cambodian subjects of alien descent; on the contrary, those who have taken to using Cambodian as their daily language speak of themselves as Cambodians with obvious pride. Yet conditions might arise in which that loyalty would be put to a severe test. This brings us to the second great national problem.

Since the Geneva conference neighboring Vietnam has been divided between the Communist-sympathizing Vietminh in the north and the French-sponsored Bao Dai government in the south. Free elections have been promised within what is now much less than two years, and the general opinion is that about 80 per cent of the southerners will vote Vietminh. In that case Cambodia will have a Communist or near-Communist state on its eastern frontier, and it is separated from Communist China on the north only by the weak and undeveloped state of Laos. On the other hand, Thailand to the west is an inveterate enemy of communism. Various considerations may make the Vietminh unwilling to use force against Cambodia, but if it is ensconced in South Vietnam it will surely expect the Cambodian government to act in a friendly manner and to protect Vietnamese interests in Cambodia. Thailand, a firm supporter of United States policy in Asia, will equally desire a friendly Cambodia. The more that unfortunate country seeks to please one of its neighbors, the more the other will try to pull it in the opposite direction. No one can foresee the outcome, but it is clear that King Norodom—father or son—will be called upon to perform miracles of statesmanship.

HAITIAN VOLCANO

The Pressure for Revolt . . *by Bernard D. Nossiter*

> His Excellency the President of the Republic happened to be speaking to "his" people that day. It appeared that he had just returned from a sensational swirg through the United States and Canada, and with childish vanity and the ridiculous delivery of a charlatan, he was telling of how he had been received. To hear him talk, it had been a real triumph, which in consequence redounded to the credit of the whole country. Laval University had awarded him the degree of Doctor of Laws, he had slept at the White House, Cardinal Spellman had greeted him with paternal affection, etc. . . . etc. . . .
>
> "The Pencil of God" by Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin (trans. 1951).

HIS EXCELLENCY, General Paul E. Magloire, President of Haiti, returned to Port-au-Prince last month after a nineteen-day swing through the United States and Canada. In Carrefour, a few miles west of the capital, some of the townsfolk planned an unofficial surprise for him. They decided to burn one of the "welcome home" arches, hastily erected in Port-au-Prince by a servile treasury. But with characteristic Haitian recklessness they told a night-club owner of the scheme. He told the police and the plot had to be abandoned. The tragi-comedy ended with a typical flourish: the informer's home was burned, but the arsonists were so careless that fifty other houses were destroyed in the fire.

Any five Haitian dissidents, whose ranks spread into the Magloire administration itself, can produce six mutually incompatible theories for any given situation. They will agree, however, on one point: their land is a steaming kettle about to blow its top. The opposition is planless and anarchic but it exists and is growing.

A taxicab driver chuckles as he shoves into his trunk compartment the government-supplied pictures of Magloire intended for his windshield. The threadbare politician whose independence has kept him in jail for half his adult life says, "Human dignity has never been lower in Haiti than it is today." A distinguished scholar claims, "The yoke is too heavy. We are at the breaking point. I am only surprised that it has not yet happened."

As Herbert Gold *(The Nation,* February 5) noted, Haiti's crisis boils down to this: a small band of plunderers, not a real government, rules a country wracked by an awesome depression. The once prosperous community of Nan Mapou, for example, has been all but wiped out by a stagnant, mosquito-infested pond, one and one-half miles long, created by Hurricane Hazel's rains. The pond has remained undrained

BERNARD D. NOSSITER, on the staff of one of New York's dailies, has just returned from a trip to Haiti.

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since the storm hit on October 12. About 80 per cent of the more than 1,000 inhabitants are now malaria-stricken. A public-health doctor makes brief weekly visits to the place; two or three people are dying each day. Not a word of Mapou's plight reached the capital until an English-language weekly picked up the story in mid-February.

AN OFFICIAL report speaks of "hidden unemployment"; actually, the ministries have stopped counting the jobless. Haiti's National Bank has not issued its monthly financial bulletin since July.

General Magloire told a group of New York bankers assembled for him on his $400,000-junket to the United States that his country's national income is $200,000,000. This works out to little more than fifty dollars a person, but gives no idea of the grinding poverty oppressing all but a few thousand of Haiti's 3,500,000 people. More than 9 out of 10 till an acre or two of soil that is being washed into the sea by rains pouring down from the mountains. The tourists gape at the Haitian peasant women who walk miles barefoot, arms akimbo balancing heavy bundles on their heads. At the markets, these burdens will bring less than a dollar. A roadside quarry is owned by a colonel and guarded by a soldier. The workers hack out rock under a broiling sun for fifty centimes or ten cents an hour.

To remedy this, the government draws up glorious paper plans. A $25,000,000 Six-Year Plan was announced before the $40,000,000 Five-Year Plan of 1951 had run its course. This is how the Five-Year Plan has operated in one southern district of 60,000 souls. The plan called for irrigating 600 acres, building twenty-five schools, and the erection of a series of clinics; its sole accomplishment has been the completion of a ten-bed dispensary begun before the plan was started. But the chief of police, who gets $350 a month, has erected a palatial mansion overlooking Port-au-Prince, complete with pool and tennis courts.

Irrigation is the key to Haiti's chief problem, agriculture; cheap power is essential to develop native industry. The much publicized Artibonite Valley project, financed by $14,000,000 from the United States Export-Import Bank and $8,000,000 from Haiti, will irrigate and provide flood control for 77,000 acres. It includes plans for hydroelectric generators that could supply the whole country with power. But sophisticated Haitians believe Magloire will never build the generators, which would compete with the United States-owned power company that supplies all the electricity to Port-au-Prince and the second city, Cap Haitien. This monopoly gets about thirteen cents a kilowatt hour from home users.

Crushed by poverty, mistrusting all government, Haiti's illiterate peasants play a dormant role in the country's policial drama. But in Port-au-Prince politicians, professionals, a few intellectuals, some business men, and a few working-class leaders risk their lives to talk of a way out of their morass. They know Magloire has the guns; they remember that he publicly commended his police last year for killing two men who put up anti-government posters. Not even the most distinguished citizens are immune from the terror. A group of senators, deputies, judges, and professors formed a civil-liberties league last winter. They announced they would defend, by legal means only, the liberties provided in Haiti's constitution. Specifically, they cited freedom of person, freedom of assembly, freedom to form associations and political parties, and free thought and speech. After three meetings, they were arrested and imprisoned. A few months later they were freed, but a deputy and a former president of the senate are still in hiding.

Police terror, the absence of political tradition, and individual jealousies and ambitions prevent the dissidents from uniting. During a governmental turnover in the 1940's, for example, an ad hoc revolutionary committee tried to form a government. The committee numbered 300; they represented 103 separate parties! While they wrangled, an army junta took office instead. Despite the terror, underground leaflets circulate. One now making the rounds illustrates both the fierce independence and political immaturity of Haitians. It calls Magloire a "baboon in clothes" who robs the people, murders his opponents, and "does not know how to behave in a drawing room or at a table." It warns him, "We are 5,017 armed fanatics" (a convenient number since the army's strength is about 5,000) and claims to have in the provinces "4,138 as fanatic as we." No one believes such a band exists.

BUT IF the Haitians are short on fact, they are long on understanding. They know that Magloire's plunderbund is serving the wealthy Haitians, Americans, and other foreigners who export the country's coffee, sugar, and sisal. One of the most astute Haitian dissidents blames the national character for the failure to adopt a tactical plan to unseat Magloire. "With us," he said, "it must come spontaneously. And in twenty-four hours it must all be over or we will not hold together."

The oppositionists argue endlessly about what "it" will be. Some are convinced that worsening business will produce a commercial strike. "One day the shopkeepers will just close their doors as in 1946, go home, and the government will fall." Others think more advanced segments of the capital's working class will spontaneously strike and end the despotism. But opponents of this view note that the taxi drivers went out for a few days last September when the government sharply increased their license and registration taxes. The two strike leaders were arrested and disappeared. The tax was imposed and what was left of the driver's union was smashed. As early as 1952, the government

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boasted to American business men that there were fewer than 10,000 union members in all Haiti.

The dissidents agree that the army is the key to any revolution. They doubt that Magloire can count on more than 1,000 of the 5,000 when the shooting begins, but they lack a coherent, articulated plan to fill the vacuum that will develop. Most concede that Magloire's overthrow will likely set up another army dictator in his place. "It all depends on the army leaders," said one. "If only they follow an honest man, free from graft. . . ." Just as many of the most knowing dissidents place an unhealthy reliance on the "right man" suddenly appearing, so do most hold to a naive faith that the United States, the land of democracy, will come to their rescue. This in the face of the tender treatment accorded Magloire here and Vice President Nixon's return visit of March 3. "My people," said one Haitian leader, "often confuse the generous philanthropy of individual Americans with the policies of its government."

The tougher-minded oppositionists only pray that when Haiti's power keg goes off, the United States will stay out. They are afraid we will give more financial and perhaps military support to a Magloire shrewd enough to tell our Congress how he was eradicating Haiti's nonexistent Communists.

MORE LABOR UNITY

Oil, Chemicals Merge . . *by Harvey O'Connor*

Cleveland

THE OIL, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union formed early this month in Cleveland by a merger of the C. I. O. oil and chemical unions may well become one of the giants in the United States labor movement. Nearly a million workers are claimed in the jurisdiction staked out, and the atomic-energy field has been thrown in for good measure. With oil replacing coal as the nation's principal heat and energy source, with chemicals supplanting even cotton, wool, and soap and extending constantly into new consumer areas, and with atomic energy promising some day to replace both coal and oil, the new union is brimful of hope. C. I. O. President Reuther has placed the new union first on the C. I. O. organizing list, and three to four million dollars has been mentioned as the sum slated for this.

While no formal move has been made to include the A. F. of L. chemical union within the merged organization, the A. F. of L. group had an official observer at the Cleveland convention. Delicacy forbade mention of this further merger, but the approaching unification of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. would seem to preclude two competing unions within the greater federation. All told, the membership of the three unions runs to nearly 300,000. The ultimate goal is one million members.

The Oil Workers, much the older and somewhat larger than the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers-C. I. O., will furnish the top officers of the merged union. O. A. (Jack) Knight, a one-time stillman in the Shell refinery in East Chicago, heads the new union. He was swept into the presidency of the oil union fifteen years ago on a wave of rank-and-file revolt, and is now a vice-president of the C. I. O. and a leading figure in labor's Latin American and world-petroleum affairs. T. M. McCormick, one-time California oil-field worker and later a top figure in helping to organize the key Gulf Coast refineries, will be secretary. One Oil Workers vice-president, B. J. Schafer of Hammond, Indiana, and three Chemical Workers officers, including President Elwood Swisher, Joseph Applebaum of St. Louis, and Jack Curran of New York, become vice-presidents.

It was a testimonial to the rank-and-file traditions of both unions that no fewer than 900 delegates and an entire week were required to work out final constitutional details; a quarter the number could have done the job better, perhaps, and saved a hundred thousand dollars or more for the organizing kitty. But then democracy is not distinguished for its efficiency. The new union will follow the unique example of the Oil Workers in having an executive board made up of workers on the job who are forbidden to accept even temporary paid assignments from the international union. They assemble four times a year to check on the union's affairs and have the right to discipline, reverse, and even to suspend officers. On the other hand, district directors, of whom there will be sixteen, being regarded as staff rather than policy officials, are appointed by the president with the consent of the executive board. In most unions it is these directors, elected at the conventions or by referendum, who together with the officers constitute the executive board.

The passing of the Oil Workers as a separate entity evoked a good bit of sentiment around the lobby of the Hollenden Hotel. Only one man who attended the founding convention of the union in El Paso, Texas, in 1918, was on hand in Cleveland—Jim Coulter of Long Beach, California, now a United States Department of Labor official. The first two resolutions passed at El Paso called for the freeing of Tom Mooney and for the nationalization of oil and other basic industries. Nowadays unions are more business-like and waste little time on such subjects.

The older hands in the Oil Work-

HARVEY O'CONNOR is the author of "History of the Oil Workers International Union," among other books. His "The Empire of Oil" will be published this fall.

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ers are veterans not of 1918 but of the 1930's, when they wrested the right to be union men from the powerful and intensely rugged oil companies. They are a tough, leather-necked lot from towns in Oklahoma and Texas where twenty years ago unionism was unknown. Hardly a local was able to nail its charter to the wall without a knockdown battle with "the company"; in those days there were no labor-board elections or Marquis of Queensberry rules. The union's membership was mainly west of the Mississippi; for years it was the only international with headquarters in the South. Its present headquarters in Denver will serve for the merged union as well.

The oil union's relatively modest salary schedule will serve for the new union, too; $12,000 for the president, $9,500 for the secretary and vice-president; $7,500 for the district directors, and $6,500 for the international representatives. On the other hand, the rank and file is among the best paid in the country with wages averaging around two dollars an hour, and many a seasoned hand disdained a representative's job because of the financial handicap involved.

THE OIL union's outstanding achievement since 1934 is the elimination both of north-south and white-Negro wage differentials. As C. I. O. standard-bearer in the Southwest, it has courageously pioneered a no-discrimination policy; unfortunately the strong rank-and-file tradition has slowed down the international union's ability to wipe out job discrimination which still curses the industry. But in Port Arthur, Texas, the nation's biggest refinery center, the international is pressing hard to lift barriers that confine Negroes to the "labor gang" and to the dirty work, and if it wins, this will be one of the biggest victories racked up in years for the right of Negroes to have access to better jobs. A Negro represented the Great Lakes district on the Oil Workers' executive council; now, with the addition of representatives from the Chemical Workers, whose members are concentrated along the Great Lakes and in the mid-Atlantic states, more rapid progress can be made in desegregating jobs.

DEPORTATION DELIRIUMS

Xenophobia in Action . . *by Laurent B. Frantz*

TWO YEARS AGO a group of distinguished citizens headed by a former United States Solicitor General reexamined our immigration and naturalization law. They reported that "it rests upon an attitude of distrust and hostility against all aliens." This is a challenging statement, if only because the attitude specified is generally characteristic not of the most advanced societies, but of the most primitive. "The savage," according to the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics," "as a general rule . . . fears and hates the stranger, and looks upon him, certainly as an enemy, and, it may be, as being brutish, monstrous, or devilish."

Representative Francis E. Walter, coauthor of the Walter-McCarran Act, one of the latest and most extreme legislative expressions of American xenophobia, replied to criticism of it by calling the critics "professional Jews" who were "shedding crocodile tears for no reason whatsoever." He also asserted that as a result of "loopholes" in previous deportation laws "thousands of criminals and subversive aliens are roaming our streets, a continuing threat to the safety of our people."

Such an attitude toward the foreigner is of course not without precedent in this country. We have had the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the abortive but momentarily powerful "Know-Nothing" movement of the 1850's, and the notorious "Palmer raids" of 1919-20. These, however, were brief "seizures" followed by quick recoveries. Our basic tradition runs in a contrary direction. Its most poetic expression is to be found in the famous lines of Emma Lazarus carved in the base of the Statue of Liberty. It is interesting that in 1891—only five years after the statue was dedicated—Congress passed an act which provided that no person should be excluded from this country because of a conviction for a political offense "notwithstanding said political offense may be designated as a 'felony, crime, infamous crime, or misdemeanor, involving moral turpitude' by the laws of the land whence he came or by the court convicting."

Our most recent departure from this tradition has been unusually prolonged. It can be traced back at least as far as 1939, a year in which statesmen were rediscovering that there is political pay-dirt to be found in the "alien peril." In that year Representative Martin Dies, achieving a particularly skillful blend of pocket-book appeal and comic-book melodrama, charged that there were 7,000,000 "aliens" in American industry while Americans were going without jobs, and added that "documentary evidence supported by affidavits revealed espionage, sabotage, murder, and mysterious disappearances of men and women resulting from communistic, fascist, and 'alienistic' rings involving the movie industry, C. I. O., strikes, and federal and state agencies on the West Coast." Congressional reaction was violent. The following year the Alien Registration Act was passed, and in conformity with the historical fact that "alien" and "sedition" legislation go together, Congress attached to the bill a rider, known as the Smith Act, which subjected citizen and non-citizen alike to criminal prosecution on purely ideological charges.

LAURENT B. FRANTZ is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

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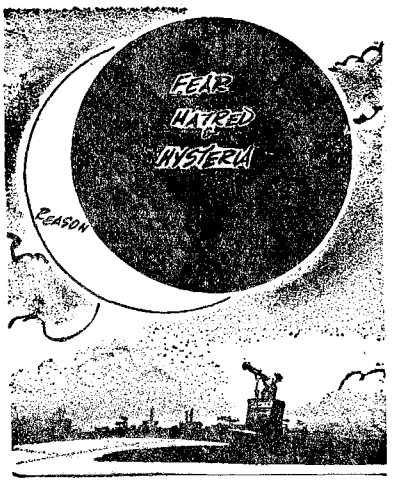
The atmosphere in which the measure was enacted caused a legislator to remark ruefully that Congress would repeal the Ten Commandments if the proposal were presented as a rider to an "alien bill."

Except for anti-Japanese measures on the West Coast the war years brought a lull in anti-alien developments. The cold war, on the other hand, rendered xenophobia respectable if not actually compulsory. Schemes to protect the American mind from the dangerous and contagious ideas to which it might be subjected by contact with unscreened foreigners became a favorite concern of legislation, culminating in 1952 in the passage of the Walter-McCarran Act.

SOME notion of how far we have departed in recent years from our old tradition of the open door to foreigners may be gleaned from the case of Alice Orans. A former social worker, Mrs. Orans is a fifty-year-old housewife who has lived in Los Angeles for more than thirty-two years. Her husband is sales manager of a large manufacturing concern. Her twenty-five-year-old son is married, has a family, and is working for a Ph.D. in anthropology at a Midwestern university. Her eighteen-year-old daughter is a freshman in college.

For most of a lifetime, Mrs. Orans believed herself to be an American citizen and was accepted as such by all. Then she was transferred overnight into an "alien" and a suitable subject for political-deportation proceedings. The transformation was accomplished by the discovery that thirty years ago, in the proceedings which were intended to accomplish her naturalization, a technical mistake had been made. When Mrs. Orans's parents came here from Canada in the early 1920's, her father filed a petition for the naturalization of himself and nine minor children. Unfortunately Alice, the oldest, although a minor when the petition was filed, passed her twenty-first birthday before her father was sworn in. The discrepancy in dates, discovered a generation later, invalidated the proceedings as to her, although they were still effective as to her father, brother, and sisters. One may legitimately wonder, however, whether the mistake would ever have been discovered, or anything done about it if discovered, but for the fact that, in the 1930's, Mrs. Orans was an active Roosevelt Democrat and a prominent state-relief official at the height of the New Deal period.



Walt Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Eclipse?

The charge on which the government seeks to tear Mrs. Orans away from her American-born children and grandchildren and to compel her to begin life anew, alone and in an unfamiliar country, is that for a time in the 1930's she was a member of the Communist Party. Her ordeal, now well into its seventh year, began on May 14, 1948, when in response to a telephone call she went voluntarily and without counsel to the office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to answer "a few questions." She was informed that her citizenship status was in question. She inquired what she could do to straighten the matter out. At this point the doors were locked, two interrogators and a stenographer went to work, and she was subjected to a three-hour grilling on her life history and her political associations. She was refused permission to call an attorney but was assured that she was legally free to leave the room. At the same time she was warned that it would be better for her to stay if she ever hoped to "straighten matters out." She was also reminded that, if she did leave, she could be brought back on a deportation warrant.

Attempting to be cooperative, Mrs. Orans permitted herself to be sworn and answered fully all questions put to her about herself and her own activities. She refused to answer a few questions which she felt went illegitimately far into the affairs of others. She was required, without reading, to sign the stenographic notes of the interview. She was then bluntly informed that her answers were unsatisfactory. She was reminded that the welfare of her children might depend on her "cooperation." "How would you account for it," she was asked, "if we told you we had your Communist Party card in Washington?" She replied that, if they had any such thing, *they* would have to account for it, not she, as it would be "a lie and a forgery." (No such card has ever been produced.) Finally she was offered an opportunity to tear up her "unsatisfactory" statement, start all over again, and "tell the truth." She declined to recant and was permitted to leave.

Ten months later Mrs. Orans was arrested at her home, without prior notice, on a political-deportation warrant. She was taken to the offices of the immigration service, "processed," fingerprinted, and released on $4,000 bail. Then the hearings began.

AT ONE point the government formally closed its case against Mrs. Orans and so many months passed without further action that it seemed the matter had been dropped. Interest appears to have been revived by a twist in local politics. Norris Poulson, a candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, had, while a member of Congress, introduced a special bill to stay any action to take Mrs. Orans into custody pending the outcome of her hearings. Mr. Poulson's opponents subjected Los Angeles voters to full-page newspaper advertisements on the mysterious connection between candidate Poulson and a person accused of being a "red alien." Mr. Poulson was elected anyway, but the publicity did Mrs. Orans no good. The government, which had closed its case eighteen months previously, insisted on an immediate reopening in the midst of the mayoralty campaign despite the plea of Mrs. Orans's counsel for a delay to allow for a calmer atmosphere.

To make out its case against Mrs. Orans, the government relied wholly on three ex-Communist witnesses, all

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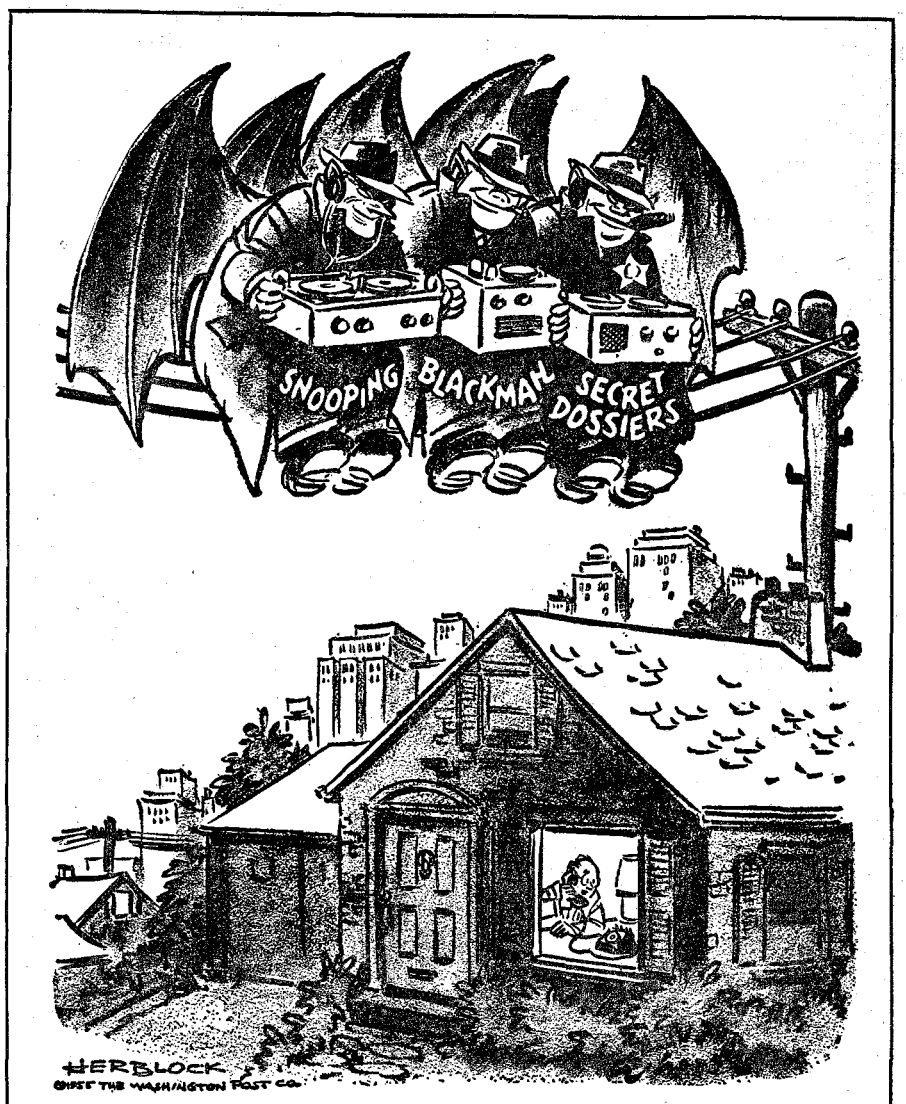
of whom had appeared frequently in other proceedings and acquired at least a semi-professional status. Among them was John Leech.

Mr. Leech's credibility as a witness may be deduced from some of his performances prior to his appearance in the Orans case. He was a star witness for the government in its spectacularly unsuccessful effort to deport Harry Bridges. In that proceeding his testimony was rejected by the government's own hearing officer, who remarked that "in evasion, qualification, and contradiction it is almost unique." In 1940, Leech denounced a number of prominent individuals as Communists to a secret subcommittee session of the Dies committee held in Beaumont, Texas. In 1945, after the Beaumont testimony had been made public, Representative Franck R. Havenner of California, one of the individuals named, declared on the floor of the House that "the sworn testimony of Leech . . . was false in its entirety and constitutes perjury of the most vicious and malicious type." A few months later Representative McCormick announced that Congress had ordered the evidence expunged from the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

GIVEN the circumstances, Mrs. Orans's lawyers advised her not to attempt to testify in her own defense but to stand on the Fifth Amendment. They reasoned that the government's case was insufficient as a matter of law and did not have to be answered. They also felt that Mrs. Orans, as a relief official, had been in contact with thousands of relief recipients, some of whom had since become professional informers. She would thus, they thought, run a grave danger of a Lattimore-type perjury indictment if forced to swear to all the details of her political and personal history fifteen or more years before. The danger was underlined by the fact that the government had been willing to seek her deportation on the basis of precisely such informer-witnesses in the face of her previous sworn denials during her original interview with the immigration service. The attorneys were aware that the political atmosphere in the country was unfavorable to witnesses who pleaded the Fifth Amendment. Nevertheless, they felt that they could rely on the well-established legal principle that "the privilege exists for the sake of the innocent" and that "no inference can be drawn against the person claiming it."



The Recording Angels

The Board of Immigration Appeals, however, did not see it that way. Although the members conceded that the privilege was properly claimed, they decided that the election to claim it was sufficient confirmation of the testimony which had been given and made unnecessary any consideration of either the credibility of the government witnesses or the contradictory nature of their evidence. The board's decision, if allowed to stand, will further weaken this already sadly battered clause of the Bill of Rights. A final order for Mrs. Orans's deportation has been issued. She is under "supervisory parole," as no country has been found willing to accept her. She may now proceed to challenge the decision in the courts.

THE ORANS case departs from the typical only in that Mrs. Orans was in a better position socially and financially to defend herself than are most persons who find themselves in a similar plight. The most casual examination of the standard proceedings used in current deportation cases reveals their inhumanity and offensiveness to the American legal tradition.

The non-citizen involved in a deportation case is not permitted to get in touch with friends or family, or call his lawyer, until he has been "processed." The processing includes fingerprinting and interrogation.

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The deportee-elect is usually informed that he has a legal right to refuse to answer, but the value of this right is largely nullified by oblique indications that a "non-cooperative" attitude will be held against him.

At the hearing before immigration officials, the government is not held to its original charges. On the contrary, it may introduce evidence on any conceivable ground of deportation and then, after the evidence is in, may readjust its charges to conform to whatever it has been able to prove. The defense is given no forewarning on government witwitnesses, but is usually obliged to tip its own hand by requesting subpoenas for its own witnesses and explaining why their evidence is needed.

The hearing officer has discretion which he frequently exercises, to refuse to summon persons requested by the defense. He is free to accept hearsay and other types of evidence which courts have eliminated as unreliable. Because he also exercises prosecuting functions, he may have access to "confidential" material which neither the defendant nor his attorney is permitted to see. Theoretically he must make his decision on the record, but there is no effective guarantee that he will not be influenced by accusations which the defendant may know nothing about or has had no opportunity to answer.

The hearing officer lacks the independence expected of a judge. He is an employee of the very agency which is prosecuting. Sharing the prosecutor's function, he often finds himself in a position where he must decide, as a judge, whether he has prosecuted successfully. The Supreme Court held in 1950 that this practice was a violation of the Administrative Procedure Act. The court said:

> When the Constitution requires a hearing, it requires a fair one, one before a tribunal which meets at least currently prevailing standards of impartiality. A deportation hearing involves issues basic to human liberty and, in the present upheavals in lands to which aliens might be returned, perhaps to life itself. It might be difficult to justify as measuring up to Constitutional standards of impartiality a hearing tribunal the like of which has been condemned by Congress as unfair even where less vital matters of property rights are at stake.

Congress responded to this decision by passing a rider to an appropriation bill removing deportation proceedings from the protection of the Administrative Procedure Act. In effect it ruled that procedures considered unfair when property rights are at stake are good enough for an "alien." Much of the statutory law on deportation has been built up by this contrapuntal method. A rule which tends to give the non-citizen some modicum of protection is developed in the courts. Then Congress changes the law to offset the judicial rule and, in doing so, usually leaves the non-citizen in a slightly more unprotected position than he was before the court victory. The President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization has reported: "The present hearing procedure in deportation cases fails to conform to the now generally accepted standards of fair hearings."

Since few deportees have the resources for a prolonged legal battle, their need for funds and for legal aid is acute. Their financial situation is often made still more difficult by loss of a job because of prolonged absence from work necessitated by their hearings or because of an employer who is frightened by the "subversive" connotations of arrest on a political-deportation warrant.

APPEAL from a deportation order may be taken to the Board of Immigration Appeals, but the United States Attorney General has the right to set aside the board's decisions. The President's commission said of the board that it "continues to function at the pleasure of the Attorney General and for his convenience." Thomas G. Finucane, the board's chairman, was a member of the President's commission which made the comment.

The usefulness of an appeal to the courts is very limited. The step involves enormous expense, especially if the case must be taken to the Supreme Court. In any event the non-citizen generally cannot get the courts to review a deportation order unless and until he is actually imprisoned under it. This is a substantial drawback; a court review may take many months or even years. Furthermore, even when a review is obtained, the courts can neither reexamine the merits of the decision to deport nor question the hearing officer's findings of fact as long as there is any evidence in the record to sustain them. Generally speaking, the courts can inquire only whether legal procedures were followed and whether the deportee was denied Constitutional rights.

The judicial power to protect even the Constitutional rights of the non-citizen is constantly growing bler under the influence of the "privilege" theory. This is the notion that although a non-citizen may have spent his whole adult life in this country and in fact may have no other homeland, he is still here only on sufferance and can be expelled for any reason, however trivial, which Congress sees fit to direct. There may be formalistic legal logic in treating all aliens alike, whether they have been here two days or two-score years. But certainly this accords neither with humanity nor common sense. The logic is maintained at frightful cost, for if the non-citizen can be compelled by Congress to surrender all his rights in order to win permission to remain, then he has, in practical effect, no rights at all.

The consequences of the "privilege" theory are well expressed in Justice Frankfurter's statement that "the place to resist unwise or cruel legislation touching aliens is the Congress, not this court." But to tell *voteless* persons they have only such rights as they can persuade a political body to grant is to tell them they have lived subject to the Constitution for a lifetime without gaining its protection. One is reminded of

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what the "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" says about primitive societies:

> The stranger is regarded as a being without rights; for he is outside of the sphere within which alone they are recognized and enforced. This view prevails among many peoples. It is held, for example, by the Wakopomo, the Wanyamwezi, the Barea and Kunama, the Bogos, the Pelew Islanders, and certain Papuan tribes—the Yabim on the north coast of New Guinea, and the Tami Islanders.

One of the results of the current policy is the systematic disruption of American families. A committee of the National Lawyers Guild recently made a statistical study of 219 political-deportation cases. The study showed that half of the individuals involved were married, more than one-fourth to American citizens. About half had citizen children; twenty-four had sons who fought in World War II or who were currently in the armed services. Several were grandparents, or even great-grandparents, of American citizens. Of the thirty-four women in the group, sixteen had citizen husbands and seventeen had citizen children.

The case of Werner Grondahl and his wife, Emma, is typical. Mr. Grondahl, who is sixty-seven, came to this country at the age of eighteen. One William Ward Kimple, who says he joined the Communist Party as an undercover agent for the Los Angeles Police Department, testified that the Grondahls were members in 1938, so Grondahl has been ordered deported to Finland and his wife, who is sixty-two, has been ordered deported to Sweden. Their son, who was with the United States invasion forces in Europe, presumably remains here.

ANOTHER characteristic result of our policy is that the victim is ordered deported to a land which, although the place of his birth, is totally strange to him. The Lawyers Guild study showed that of 198 deportees for whom figures were available, 96 per cent had been in the United States more than twenty years and 63 per cent had been here more than thirty years. These persons were aliens by legal definition, but they are not alien in fact; they are not rootless here, nor strangers to our language, customs, and institutions. They would, in a far more realistic sense, be aliens in the lands to which the government proposes that they be sent.

William Heikkila, for example, is forty-eight years old and has been in this country for as many years. His parents were permanent legal residents of the United States but William made the mistake of being born while they were on a temporary visit to their native Finland. In immigration jargon, the infant committed an "entry" at the age of two-and-a-half months when his parents brought him back to their home in Minnesota. Many years later, Heikkila voluntarily admitted that he had been a member of the Communist Party for a period ending in 1939. Solely on the basis of his admission, he has been ordered deported to a land of which he can have no recollection.

Judge Learned Hand said of a non-political but otherwise similar case some years ago:

> We think it not improper to say that deportation under the circumstances would be deplorable. Whether the relator came here in arms or at the age of ten, he is as much our product as though his mother had borne him on American soil. He knows no other language, no other habits than ours. He will be as much a stranger in Poland as anyone born of ancestors who immigrated in the seventeenth century. However heinous his crimes, deportation is to him exile, a dreadful punishment abandoned by the common consent of civilized peoples.

Exile is obviously worse for older persons than for those still young and malleable. The Lawyers Guild study showed that 80 per cent of the potential deportees were more than forty-six years old.

If so many of these persons are fully integrated into American life, why did they fail to become citizens? There is no single answer. A check of about a hundred cases in the Los Angeles area showed some of the commoner reasons. Many, as in the case of Mrs. Orans, failed to take the necessary steps because they thought they were already citizens. Some received brusque and unfair treatment at one time or another from a public official and responded by shunning all avoidable contact with officialdom (a reason advanced by many Mexicans). Some saw that their friends' or relatives' applications for naturalization were almost immediately followed by deportation proceedings; they concluded the whole subject was best let alone. Many who were born in Russia or Eastern Europe feared the possible consequences of revealing "unpopular" birthplaces, particularly if they once claimed a more "popular" birthplace on employment applications. Some, especially the less literate, feared the red tape and the civics test involved in an application for citizenship.

Loss of papers and other difficulties in obtaining evidence to support the application is another common problem. In recent years, many non-citizens have been automatically stymied by the provisions of the 1950 law which forbid a grant of citizenship to any person against whom a deportation order is outstanding. In many instances, deportation orders are outstanding for twenty years or more and cannot even be reviewed in the courts, since the non-citizen is not under arrest.

The majority of deportees, however, are persons who, despite these difficulties, did try to become citizens. Of 350 persons arrested for deportation, 125 had applications for citizenship pending at the time of their arrest and another 170 had made an unsuccessful application at some time in the past.

How dangerous are the deportees? Of the 219 political cases studied by the Lawyers Guild, not one defendant was charged with using violence. Only one had a known record of non-political crime (other than violations of the immigration laws) and

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he had stayed out of trouble for twenty-five years. Nor are the deportees charged with personally advocating the violent overthrow of the government. In the one instance where the immigration service did attempt to prove personal advocacy, the Board of Immigration Appeals held the charge unproven. About two-thirds of the current cases are based on alleged past membership in the Communist Party; 82 per cent of these involve persons whose alleged membership terminated before 1940. To understand the importance of this date, one must recall that the legal implications of party membership were quite different before World War II than they are today. In 1937, the Supreme Court held that Angelo Herndon could not be charged with "inciting insurrection" because he recruited members into the Communist Party, nor could Dirk De Jonge be convicted of criminal syndicalism for his part in a peaceful Communist meeting. In 1942, the Supreme Court of California held that the legislature could not bar the Communist Party from the ballot. In 1943, the Supreme Court of the United States held that William Schneiderman's career as a Communist Party leader and his professed agreement with the writings of Lenin and others did not show that he had falsely professed attachment to the principles of the Constitution when he became a citizen. These decisions were widely discussed at the time. Justifiably or not, they were generally understood as meaning that persons who desired to become or to remain members of the Communist Party had a Constitutional right to do so. Thus, the majority of today's political deportees are being subjected to "a dreadful punishment abandoned by the common consent of civilized peoples" for the offense of having failed to anticipate, by ten or fifteen years, the official afterthoughts of the cold-war period.

THE PROFESSED aim of our anti-alien legislation is to rid the country of "undesirable" residents. There are good reasons for suspecting, however, that the ostensible goal is not the real one. There is a curious disproportion between the publicity given the deportation program and the number of persons who actually depart our borders. Mr. Brownell, shortly after he took office as Attorney General in 1952, announced that he was contemplating action against 12,000 non-citizens and 10,000 naturalized Americans. The report of the immigration service for the fiscal year ending in 1953 states that 11,683 investigations were completed in denaturalization and deportation cases based on alleged subversion. Yet the same report lists only thirty-seven deportations and nine "voluntary" departures based on such grounds.

No doubt the harvest of wrecked lives and split families is considerably more substantial than these figures indicate, since a large proportion of cases which were political in their inception ultimately wind up as "illegal entry" cases. The service lists 16,111 deportations under headings of this character and it is impossible to determine how many of them began as political investigations. A considerable number of non-citizens, especially those who have been here for many years, are unable because of lapse of time, loss of papers, death of witnesses, or similar difficulties, to prove that their original entry was "legal." In many other cases, a search through the records turns up some small error or technicality which can be used, perhaps after twenty or thirty years, to convert the original entry, although innocent, into an "illegal" one.

YET whatever allowance is made for this factor, there is still something wrong with the picture. Deportation involves two countries, one to expel and one to receive. Since 1935, the Soviet Union has refused to cooperate with our political deportation policy; the Eastern European countries have taken the same position. Even Italy, protesting that it is not a "penal colony for America," has refused to take deportees whom we have denaturalized. But lack of any place to which the non-citizen can be sent does not seem to dampen the immigration service's ardor to proceed against him.

To be sure, two efforts have recently been made to throw the burden of this situation on the non-citizen. The Walter-McCarran Act provides that the deportee may be sent to any country which will accept him, even if it is one in which he never previously set foot. So far, however, no country has been willing to accept political deportees who were born in Russia or Eastern Europe. The same act also provides that a person under final order of deportation may be sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for failing to deport himself, or at least to make efforts in good faith to do so. So far three persons have been prosecuted under this measure. Of these, Martin Karasek is a native of Czechoslovakia and Frank Specter of Russia; it seems evident that the efforts they failed to make would have been unavailing. The third, Knut Heikkinen, who was born in Finland, applied for travel papers after his arrest. But when he received them, the government continued to prosecute him. He has been given a five-year prison sentence, which the government insists that he serve. In his case the act did not hasten his departure; it postponed it for five years.

But even the fantastic business of requiring the non-citizen to become an active combatant on the government's side against himself has not broken the log-jam, which is not due, as the immigration service charges, to "wily aliens who select impossible countries" but to the conditions pointed out by the late Justice Jackson:

> A deportation policy can be successful only to the extent that some other country is willing to receive those we expel. But, except selected individuals who can do us more harm abroad than here, what Communist power will cooperate with our deportation policy by receiving our expelled Communist aliens? And what non-Communist power feels such confidence in its own domestic security that it can risk

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taking in persons this stable and powerful Republic finds dangerous to its security? World conditions seem to frustrate the policy of deportation of subversives. Once they gain admission here, they are our problem and one that cannot be shipped to some other part of the world.

About 60 per cent of all political deportation cases are brougnt against persons whom the immigration service must know, at least as well as Justice Jackson knew, that it has no substantial prospects of deporting. It follows, then, that the real motive for the deportation proceedings is not the ostensible one of ridding the country of "undesirables." It seems rather to be to subject the non-citizen to the utmost possible harassment as a lesson to others, citizens included, to stay away from "imprudent" activities and associations.

SEVERAL aspects of our procedures tend to confirm this hypothesis. For example, most deportees are exceptionally good bail risks. The whole point of their fight is to be able to stay where they are. In any event they have no place to run except across the border, in which case the ostensible purpose of the proceedings against them has been accomplished more quickly and cheaply than by deportation. Yet under the new law the Attorney General claims unlimited discretion to hold the deportee without bail. This discretion is openly used not to guard against defendants running away, but to incarcerate persons who, although not charged with crime, are regarded as too dangerous to remain at large.

Of similar significance is the device of placing those who are under deportation order, but have no place to go, on "supervisory parole." This means that they are required to report at frequent intervals for questioning and to submit their personal lives and associations to intensive supervision by immigration officials. Such a procedure serves no rational function in relation to getting "undesirables" out of the country, but makes very good sense in terms of intimidating our three million non-citizens and eleven million naturalized citizens and their families.

Also tending to confirm the "intimidation" theory is the fact that

the last Congress, at the suggestion of President Eisenhower, passed an act providing that native-born Americans may be deprived of their citizenship for political offenses. Its constitutionality has yet to be determined. But even in the doubtful event that the law is upheld, it is hardly likely that the Administration expects to find any foreign country on which its denationalized native-born radicals—obviously "undesirables"—can be dumped. Plainly the purpose of the new law is intimidation, and its enactment shows clearly that repressive measures against non-citizens, if not effectively combated, are ultimately extended to everyone. Here is a striking confirmation of the political wisdom of Jefferson, who wrote of the Alien Act of 1798:

> The . . . alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather, has already followed, for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey.

Jefferson merely applied an older wisdom. It was more than nine centuries ago that the Laws of King Cnut, Danish ruler of England, declared:

> Verily he who dooms a worse doom to the friendless and the comer from afar than to his fellows injures himself.

Louis F. Post, as Assistant Secretary of Labor in 1920, saw the Palmer raids and their aftermath from the inside. He wrote of the experience that "nearly all the 'conspirators' were wage earners, useful in industry, good-natured in their dispositions, unconscious of having given offense"; that "the whole 'red' crusade seems to have been saturated with labor-spy interests . . . which were engaged in generating and intensifying industrial suspicions and hatreds"; and that "the 'red' crusade began to look like a gigantic and cruel hoax, and that is what it finally proved to be."

Today, as then, the foreign-born population is concentrated in the most heavily industralized areas. Historically, strains and suspicions between native and foreign-born workers have had a powerful effect in keeping labor divided and enabling large corporate employers to dictate terms to both. The current phenomenon, however, undoubtedly has a broader significance. It creates tensions which may be manipulated for ulterior purposes. It focuses against a convenient scapegoat grievances and frustrations which might otherwise find more constructive channels of expression. It provides a favorable climate for attacks on freedom of opinion, rationalized as an effort to preserve the "domestic" ideology against contamination by "foreign" ideas.

THE xenophobia of 1798 was combated by the Jeffersonians with such vigor and success that the Federalist Party which sponsored it was driven from power and went into permanent decline. That of 1920 was determinedly fought by such men as Assistant Secretary of Labor Post. Post's stand, though courageous, was not an isolated instance. A committee of twelve very eminent lawyers, including Felix Frankfurter, Roscoe Pound, Ernest Freund, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., and Francis Fisher Kane, issued a blistering indictment of the Department of Justice which Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana brought before the Senate. This document helped to reawaken the national conscience.

Where are the Posts, the Frankfurters, and the Walshes of today to combat this new hysteria in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson? The sage wrote:

> As members . . . of the universal society of mankind, and standing high in responsible relation with them, it is our sacred duty to suppress passion among ourselves, and not to blast the confidence we have inspired of proof that a government of reason is better than a government of force.

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BOOKS

The World of Walt Whitman

By Maxwell Geismar

LEAVES OF GRASS is the first, and perhaps still the only true epic poem in our literature; upon the date of its hundreth anniversary, the fact is clear. Yet it is quite typical of Whitman that among his early lines we should come upon

> Me imperturbe, standing at ease in Nature,
> Master of all, or mistress of all, aplomb in the midst of irrational things

and that the master, aplomb and imperturbed, should then wish to confront all forms of adversity—night, storms, hunger, ridicule, accidents, rebuffs—as the trees and animals do. For he was a great primitive poet, a founder of modern verse, a fountainhead of ideas, attitudes, techniques in twentieth-century prose and poetry alike. And part of his charm lies directly in an odd mixture of the baroque and the gothic, as it were, until finally we come to enjoy just that part of the poet which is so outrageous to mere sophistication.

He viewed himself as a national bard—of a nation that, dilating from a liberated colony, had little use for poets or for him. And he was not averse to using the rhetoric of the Independence Day celebrations. One notices the "red-flushed cheeks" of lovers in "Proud Music of the Storm." He addressed the earth as "O, vast rondure"; the sun as "thou orb aloft full-dazzling"; and the Lord Himself as "thou moral, spiritual fountain . . . thou reservoir." He delighted in describing the scientific discoveries and commercial achievements which Emerson suggested were not the songs of a nation, but its inventories.

His style was a strange mixture of the turgid, the banal, the *outre,* and of brilliant, piercing phrases. (There is also the quiet line, the orphic utterance, the homely twist and salty tang of common speech.) Like Beethoven, who missed so many chances to end his symphonies, Whitman usually has a series of inscriptions and invocations to his beautiful vistas; a long row of conclusions, summaries, and farewells, to his great verses. He is a poet who tries to say over again what he has already said beyond compare. His best things may be hidden away in an exasperating verbiage, from which they shine suddenly to dazzle and enchant us, like hidden pools of sunlight in the forest.

As in the case of any major literary figure, there are as many interpretations of Whitman as there are interpreters. The cultural historian Vernon Parrington viewed him as the Child of the Enlightenment and the poet of democratic aspirations. The philosopher Santayana saw him, in contrast, as the poet of lost causes—of a primitive and amorphous state of democracy before it took on a mature and fatal shape. One of Whitman's recent editors, Malcolm Cowley, stresses the public mask of the poet, a combination, roughly, of Barnum and the Bowery tough. A second editor, Mark Van Doren, describes the morbid undertones in Whitman the stranger, the alienated individual who lurked behind the apostle of the masses.

If these impressions sometimes contradict each other, so did the poet, as he was proud to admit. Nature contained multitudes. A third recent editor of Whitman's work, Louis Untermeyer, has brought together an excellent compendium of Whitman criticism, and these diverse interpretations have extended from the original publication of "Leaves of Grass," in 1855. The book was "a great primitive poem, an alarum or trumpet note ringing through the American camp," as Thoreau correctly said. And Emerson in turn, with his genuine impulses and inhibited responses, was at first all enthusiasm and then suddenly abashed. Whitman was also a touchstone for his critics. Henry James found his work to be "an offense against art" that slighted the intellect and outraged the taste, or at least his taste.

But Whitman in his own time was also under attack from the common quarter, just where he felt he had addressed the whole weight of his literary work. And the capacity for invective on the part of those defending the status quo appears to be as limited in our literary as it has been in our societal battles. Perhaps the technique of the "big lie" itself was developed from an infantile human dependence upon repetition and incantation, instead of reason and imagination. Anyhow, we meet such phrases as "the slop-bucket of Walt Whitman" in the popular journalism of his time. His verse was called "entirely bestial," or an example of "gross materialism," on the part of this most idealistic and maybe even too ethereal of poets. He was accused of "indecent exposure"—of the human heart no doubt.

THE point is, of course, that Whitman had broken a primary sexual taboo. In another essay, D. H. Lawrence has pointed out the tragic sequence between the poet's outspoken hymns to "virile love" and his swift elegies to "death, death, death." The Whitman of the "Adam" and "Calamus" poems was indeed quite suddenly converted from an innocent and rosy vision of the universe—and a sort of intolerable euphoria in the early "Songs"—to a dark and suicidal despair.

The personal love poems are of greater value as history than as poetry. They are too close to the poet, and are at best only a form of confessional. One notices soon enough the notes of anguish which are the price of passion; and are always recorded by the writers who have elected to follow their temperaments. If Whitman, in his forty-first year, was determined to tell the secrets of his nights and days, he recorded also that the "blossoms of his blood" were not pure happiness. "You are often more bitter than I

MAXWELL GEISMAR, noted literary critic, is a contributing editor of The Nation. *This article is condensed from Mr. Geismar's introduction to the Pocket Book edition of "The Whitman Reader," just published.*

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can bear, you burn and sting me." Yet he had long enough stifled and choked, and he was resolved to bare his breast. In "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," still contemplating the fire, the sweet hell within, "the unknown want, the destiny of me," he could nevertheless cry: "O if I am to have so much, let me have more!"

It was by means of this syndrome of sexual feeling that Whitman achieved his breakthrough as a poet. His determination to be faithful to his instincts—an act of boldness and perhaps ruthlessness which marks the psychic release of the major artist—urged him forward to his solitary, rebellious, and germinal verses. The opening stanzas in "Song of Myself" record also the mystic moments of Whitman's emotional liberation: moments of ecstasy and rapture which are transposed into a great paean to love and life.

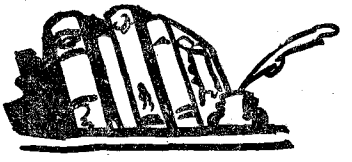
> Earth of the vitreous pour of the full moon just tinged with blue!
> Earth of shine and dark mottling the tide of the river!
> Earth of the limpid gray of clouds brighter and clearer for my sake!
> Far-swooping elbow'd earth—rich apple-blossom'd earth!
> Smile, for your lover comes.

"Prodigal, you have given me love," Whitman added—"Therefore I to you give love! / O unspeakable passionate love." On all sides he felt those "prurient provokers," stiffening his limbs through means of that villain touch. The sentries had deserted every other part of him, and left him helpless. Given up by traitors, he could only cry: "I talk wildly, I have lost my wits, I and nobody else am the greater traitor."

Nothing could be clearer, or more magnificent, than his apostrophe to the sexual rapture which pervades Nature. And if the note of personal loss, of dark despair, and of death followed so soon after the moment of ecstasy, that, too, was the inexorable law of the White Goddess. The result was that through this central experience Whitman had already liberated himself from the empty conventions and customs of his time. (It is never really a question of "sublimation" but of the *conversion* of experience into art.) Having experienced his own passion, Whitman could then write of those who, "smartly attired, countenance smiling, form upright," had suffered a different form of death under the breast-bone:

> Under the broadcloth and gloves, under the ribbons and artificial flowers,
> Keeping fair with the customs, speaking not a syllable of itself,
> Speaking of anything else but never of itself.

This particular mode of speech was to be picked up later by T. S. Eliot among the modern poets. But we must understand that it was first expressed here within a quite different frame of reference. Instead of the later emphasis on resignation and compliance, or on salvation through ceremonial, Whitman still demanded that every human soul express its own needs, whatever and



however. "My call is the call of battle. I nourish active rebellion." In "Song of the Open Road," it was this Whitman who could say

> Listen! I will be honest with you,
> I do not offer the old smooth prizes, but offer rough new prizes.

—who demanded freedom from the formulas of the "bat-eyed and materialistic priests"; and who pictured the universe itself as a road, "as many roads, as roads for traveling souls."

It was excellent advice, if mainly ignored by an America barely released from Calvin's purgatory and about to plunge into the inferno of finance. It was a mode of prophecy that still applies, in our own day, to a society which is outwardly more comfortable, perhaps, but inwardly no less cramped.

ON THE personal side, there was no doubt an element of guilt behind the images of love and death in Whitman's verse. The Civil War was in part a perfect resolution for the poet's dilemma. Ministering to the wounded and dying young American soldiers as a male nurse, he could freely loose his feeling and find in the scene around him everywhere the necessary retribution. More important, however, the war was another turning point for his art. Whitman was fortunate; or to put it more accurately, he felt and sought out, in whatever peculiar guise, his point of realization. Earlier, knowing very little about the "divine average" which he apotheosized, he had been curiously abstract as spokesman for the masses. He had even envisioned a working democracy of manly kisses and rough embraces: an "adhesive proletariat," as it were, or a sort of affectional Marxism which was surely among the oddest of all the odd utopias.

The war poetry in "Drum-Taps" was chauvinistic and rhetorical at the start. But not for long—

> (Arous'd and angry, I'd thought to beat the alarum, and urge relentless war,
> But soon my fingers fail'd me, my face droop'd and I resign'd myself,
> To sit by the wounded and soothe them, or silently watch the dead;)

And not in the great Civil War poetry. Instead, as Whitman brooded over the underlying issues of the conflict, the masses of men involved on both sides of the battle, the individual cases of suffering and of fortitude which he had known, came the haunting and beautiful elegies in memory of President Lincoln.

The war had indeed ended the epoch of Emerson, Thoreau, and Longfellow, among the sages, and opened the epoch of the Vanderbilts and Rockefellers among the titans. Whitman found himself in a familiar posture of suspense, but this time between a past he had found incomplete, and a future he distrusted. Now he was hovering over the chasm of his hopes. In Parrington's phrase he became "the poet and prophet of a democracy that the America of the Gilded Age was daily betraying." What the historian called "the exalted abandon of egoistic experience" had been in reality, in Whitman's true inner development, the universal and immemorial cult of the savage love-goddess. But there was no doubt, at least, that the most deeply religious soul of the post-war epoch was flung into outer darkness by the rude arbiters of a money society.

The distinction was of course be-

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tween Whitman's "materialism of the flesh"—of individual experience and self-fulfillment—and the new materialism of wealth, power, and worldly success. And now what acrid, disheartened, and prophetic intimations issued from the erstwhile apostle of euphoria! The present age in America, he said, was an age tyrannically regulated with reference to the manufacturer, the financier, the politician. The democratic masses included "our materialistic, self-assertive, money-worshipping Anglo-Saxon race."

In the notes of "Collect" he had been even more specific about the "limitless aperture" of mere show, luxury, and money-making towards which the American nation was rushing *en masse*. What had happened here to his earlier concept of a glorious new race of mechanics, farmers, and tradesmen who would bulk so large in a divine commonalty? In "Who Gets the Plunder?" he noted the "glittering delusions of great money" which were actually based on the exploitation of the poor. The profits went altogether to a few score select persons—"who by favors of Congress, state legislatures, the banks, and other special advantages, are forming a vulgar aristocracy, full as bad as anything in the British or European castes, of blood, or the dynasties there of the past."

Now this was striking at Whitman's central vision of democracy supplanting the whole idea of dynasties, castes, and privileged social classes. In "Democratic Vistas" he had lamented the glamour which surrounded the crimes of the feudal and dynastic world of the past. "But the People are ungrammatical, untidy, and their sins gaunt and ill-bred." Yet to this Whitman a man was still a summons and a challenge. And time was ample. "Let the victors come after us."

It was in this exultant mood that he had demanded new races of orbic bards with uncompromising sway. "Come forth, sweet democratic despots of the west!" But now he commented on the armies of tramps who swarmed through the states toward the end of the nineteenth century. He wrote about strikes and labor wars and all the other manifestations of a savage new industrial system. And he took a more limited view of things. "I can conceive of no better service in the United States henceforth by democrats of thorough and heartfelt faith, than boldly exposing the weaknesses, liabilities, and infinite corruptions of democracy."

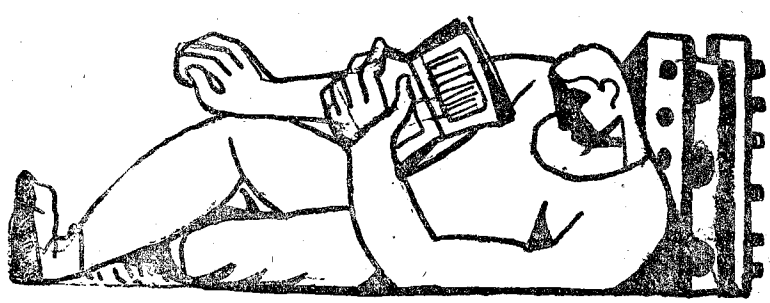
In the years before the Civil War he had suggested, in the same vein, that the reformers descend from the stands where they were forever bawling; that the judges and criminals be transposed; that those who distrusted birth and death should lead the rest.

IN HIS own voice, of course, the aging Whitman was still a summons and a challenge to his readers. This outwardly vague, misty, musing spirit came to represent, rather like Tolstoy in Russia, the true conscience of his country. The outraged, eloquent, and radical Whitman was the recording angel of the Gilded Age. Just as he had been the chief link between Herman Melville and Theodore Dreiser in the subterranean biological revolution against a proscriptive Puritanism, so, after the deaths of the New England sages, he carried forward their spiritual heritage to the opening years of the twentieth century. Having defied the etherealism of the Transcendentalists, belonging to the modern world in his stress on the flesh and the passions in art, he still represented the earlier ages in his belief that existence must have a moral center.

But meanwhile he stood in the void—a neglected solitary rebellious figure—between the old agrarian republic and the new economic empire which, having firmly established itself at home by the 1900's, began to look abroad and to sniff at being a world power. During these years Whitman described himself as being much like "some hard-cased dilapidated grim ancient shell-fish or time-bang'd conch." Without the use of his legs, utterly "non-locomotive," there was nothing left, as he said, but to behave himself quiet, and to discover what still could be salvaged from those primal buoyant center-pulses down there deep within his gray-blurred old shell. There was also the more famous description of "Me, old, alone, sick, weak-down, melted-worn with sweat."

Few American writers have known how to grow old. The trick, said Whitman in "Specimen Days," was to tone down your wants and tastes low enough, "and make much of negatives." And this poet could still look up at the skies which he had once delighted in, to add: "Old, poor, and paralyzed, I thank Thee!" He had turned back in age to the Quaker customs and beliefs of his youth (as F. O. Matthiessen has noticed), and something of an older faith and loving-kindness shines through these final passages. "I have the most devoted and ardent of friends . . . and of enemies I really make no account."

Today, too, when we perceive only evil around us, in nature's schemes and the systems of society alike, it is useful to recall that Whitman's grand innocence was not, in the final analysis, a refusal to see the bad but a wish to transcend it. Like the Quaker saints whom he came to resemble; like the Thoreau who after witnessing the tortures of natural selection could still cry that no wounds were fatal; like Melville in the final note of "Moby Dick," Whitman presents a view of life which accommodates and combines our two perhaps merely provincial poles of good and evil. He participated in a universe whose intentions went beyond the cognizance of animals and men; but where the animals had learned to bear their trials with fortitude, and where men should not willingly increase their own.



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Fox Without Guile

THE VAGABOND. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod. Farrar, Strauss and Young. $3.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

ACCORDING to the jacket, this short novel was Colette's favorite. As was so often the case it is obviously autobiographical. Like the author the heroine is a writer who has divorced a playboy husband and taken to the cafe-concert as a way of making a living. The ex-husband, who is always present though he never actually appears, and the whole shabby-bohemian world of the minor theaters which furnishes the background are also obviously part of Colette's own experience. So, probably enough, are the theme and the story, which have to do with a woman who is determined not to be burned again, who presently finds herself in love with a decent well-to-do fellow first encountered in the guise of a stage-door johnny, and who then gives him up because she cannot imagine how she could end except as an unhappy wife once more. In more subtle ways also this heroine is Colette herself—essentially simple and innocent despite a life which is neither.

If Colette has recently been the subject of a flourishing revival in France that can only be in part because she seems so remote from contemporary preoccupations, because her complete absorption in a private world refreshes a generation almost obsessed with global affairs and esoteric philosophies, because even what was once thought the naughtiness of her occasional frank sensuality seems centuries away from a generation to whom "love" means neither sentiment nor normal sensuality but violence, hatred, and, often, some form of perversity.

Few writers have ever been less engaged. This does not mean merely that she has no political or social ideas and no ethical convictions beyond those which an unthinking generosity and kindliness suggest. It means also an introversion so complete that she is a prisoner of herself and unaware of things outside herself except in so far as she can make them part of that self. As blind as a child to everything not part of her own experience she is also childishly alert to and absorbed in everything which is. Few have ever described more vividly an inner landscape of which the most prominent features are usually what can be seen or touched or tasted or smelled with childish freshness. Just less prominent than what the senses can perceive are memories, emotions, and sentiments. The realest thing is the present, the next realest is the past, and the future exists only just vividly enough to warn her not to make certain mistakes twice. She is so intelligent and so shrewd while remaining so completely unintellectual that inevitably she suggests the gamin—one would even be tempted to say the guttersnipe if the connotations were not so unfavorable and, what is more important, if her passionate interest in country life did not carry a constant reminder that an important part of the child she remained was the child who had grown up in a provincial garden.

Of her appearance the author-heroine says: "Mine is a face that depends on the expression which animates it, the color of my eyes, and the defiant smile that plays over it—what Marinetti calls my *gaiezza volpina*. But if I look like a fox, it's a fox without guile, which a hen could catch. A fox without rapacity, one that remembers only the trap and the cage." Of the faith by which she lives: "Chance, my master and my friend. . . All my trust is now in him—and in myself. . . . There is no doubt that, if ever my heart were to call my master Chance by another name, I should make an excellent Catholic." Of her art: "To write is to pour one's innermost self passionately upon the tempting paper, at such frantic speed that sometimes one's hand struggles and rebels, overridden by the impatient god who guides it—and to find next day, in place of the golden bough that bloomed miraculously in that dazzling hour, a withered bramble and a stunted flower."

By confession, then, there is no literary art as that term is now usually defined. By the evidence of the writing itself here is presented a world where there are no politics, no philosophy, no religion, and no morality—though cruelty and kindness, indifference and compassion, ugliness and beauty, are vivid realities. The sum total makes something more vivid, more intense, and more solidly founded than one would have expected.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is a well-known critic and writer.

What Do Americans Want?

MAN, MOTIVES AND MONEY. By Albert Lauterbach. Cornell University Press. $5.

By Douglas F. Dowd

EXCEPT that it might be awkward to inscribe on the tail of our coins, let alone translate into Latin, "Each for himself and God for all," might well replace "E Pluribus Unum" as our national motto. If Americans have a "social" philosophy, this would seem to be it. And this fact makes things difficult for the serious social scientist. Presumably, a particular theoretical apparatus in the social sciences takes on meaning to the degree that it comes to grips with a social problem—a problem which *is* a problem because of some felt gap between ideal and reality. Now in America the social scientist's articulate public has consisted mainly of those whose explicit or tacit assumption has been either that things are just dandy as they are, or that they would be if only the eggheads would leave them alone. Our great depression saw some lapse from that attitude, and many believe it to have been a permanent change. Be that as it may, it is still true that social science is something to be disdained or used for narrow—individual or group—purposes. Whether this is "good" or "bad," avoidable or not, will not be judged here, but the point is rele-

DOUGLAS F. DOWD is assistant professor of economics at Cornell University.

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SECRECY, SECURITY, AND LOYALTY

The **BULLETIN OF THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS** announces its special issue for April, 1955

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vant to Professor Lauterbach's attempt to work within a broader framework.

FOR THIS book amounts to an involved critique of the state of social theory, with the emphasis on economics and psychology (it is subtitled "Psychological Frontiers of Economics"). The author probes into the nature, extent, and motivations of business activity and the myths surrounding it and into the nature, origins, and implications of socio-economic instability and personal insecurity; in doing so he provides an enlightened discussion of the relationships between personality, social institutions, and the reformist (or revolutionary) outlook. In his summary chapter Professor Lauterbach presents a program of needed reforms which few if any readers of *The Nation* would dissent from but which most of us might interpret, today, as Erewhon Revisited.

Anyone familiar with either economics or psychology would find it difficult to disagree with Lauterbach's constructive attack. In economics, for example, any intelligent undergraduate can tear broad holes in the basic assumptions underlying price and distribution theories—and the theories are no better than their assumptions. Although there is at least some meat on the bones of employment theory, it is still true that at its present stage the theory is infirm beyond the most primitive, albeit useful, level of analysis. To understand more we need to have, as the author points out, a wedding of psychology and economics. But we also need a birthing. I shall not attempt to speak for psychology—although I am struck by its present inutility for the purposes of interested economists—but in economics at least two crucial theoretical gaps exist: a theory which goes beyond the very short-run present and one which relates "economic behavior" not only to individual motives but to the general political and social context—in terms of power, pressures, and possibilities—within which economic behavior takes place.

But in addition, and beforehand, we must know what we are trying to achieve; we must have some idea of the *summum bonum*. Problems are susceptible of solution to the degree that their existence is recognized. What problems are generally recognized in America today? Well, that depends to a large extent upon what Americans want out of life. Do they really want, seriously and consciously, the things Lauterbach hopes they will try to achieve? (I need only point out that he conceives of a beautiful society *for all.*) Or are Americans hypnotized by visions of a bigger and faster car, a magenta-tiled bathroom, and, of course, color TV? If it is the latter, and it seems to be, then Americans are unconcerned about Professor Lauterbach's careful and thoughtful questions and uninterested in his broad range of policy recommendations. All that is needed is the sort of society we already have, only more so: more expenditures for armaments will do the trick, and other tricks, too. Social theory is a tool, but it is a tool which can only be developed and used in the context of a social philosophy, in a society congenial to the use of social intelligence. Professor Lauterbach has such a social philosophy, and none of the foregoing strictures can or should be applied to him or his praiseworthy book. But his colleagues in the social sciences, like their lay brethren, are rarely equipped in such fashion. This book, then, meant to be a starting-point for the further development of an integrated social theory, is more likely to rest undisturbed as another collection of thoughtful, penetrating, interesting, but not-to-be-answered questions.

Toward Better Thinking

THE ART OF MAKING SENSE. A Guide to Logical Thinking. By Lionel Ruby. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.75.

By Abraham Edel

WHILE logic has made giant strides in the past half century, developing the age-old syllogism into large formal systems, opening new vistas of analysis in relation to mathematics and the sciences, the popular presentation of its gains has been unusually slow. Much of the formal material of modern logic will inevitably remain technical, but many of its lessons offer a field for resourceful presentation which even the better works of the recent past have only begun to tap. "The Art of Making Sense" is a welcome addition to this needed enterprise. Professor Ruby, a professional philosopher and author of a college text in logic, was encouraged to write a book for a wider audience by the success of his radio series on thinking logically. This showed that responsible treatment of the subject, with serious intent and without cutting capers, could arouse popular interest when presented clearly and with apt illustration.

Professor Ruby has drawn freely from his predecessors and from the materials in the common domain of logic teaching; in this sense his book is a kind of synthesis of established lessons. But he has selected discriminatingly and persisted in fuller coverage, where his predecessors have more often followed partial interests or been content with teaching the avoidance of a few fallacies. And so we are carried through the use of words and the problems of definition, shown how to stick to the point and to sharpen our critical abilities, until finally by a gentle transition we find ourselves in the midst of formal logical patterns. Here, in areas that tempt to technicality in exposition, Professor Ruby shows special skill. For example, the formal fallacy of the "undistributed middle" is explained first quite simply by showing that things having a shared characteristic cannot be assumed to be identical, and then by comparing it to guilt by association. Probability is introduced through the logic of gambling, and the logic of science through Sherlock Holmes and medical discoveries.

Professor Ruby uses many humorous examples. But the tone of the book is far from the debunking or Menckenesque attitude that has

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York. He is the author of "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy" and the forthcoming "Ethical Judgments: The Use of Science in Ethics."

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characterized many popular treatments of linguistic fallacies. Thus when a disagreement is found to be verbal—for example, whether to call the United States a democracy or a republic—it is not dismissed with the implication that men are fools to disagree. Professor Ruby points out instead that the very existence of so much heat over an apparently trivial matter indicates that other issues may be involved—in this case, the conflict of liberalism and conservatism about the ideal of equality. Occasionally, however, Professor Ruby rests content with showing the propagandist character of linguistic usage. A still further emancipation from the debunking attitude would involve pressing on to discover the opposing theories about man and his world underlying the different usages. The sharpest conflicts in the modern world are prone to generate an atmosphere in which one side sees the other as simply making propaganda. If we recognize that our definitions in a large measure express what we assume as established knowledge in a particular field, logical probing can help bring opposing viewpoints to actual test.

One of the most appealing strands in Professor Ruby's approach is the persistence with which he presents the ideals of rationality and truth and maintains that the art of making sense is not the art of using emotions for good purposes as against using them for bad purposes.

Loyalty Tests — Present and Past

THE 5TH AMENDMENT TODAY. By Erwin N. Griswold. Harvard University Press. $2, cloth; 50 cents, paper.

ERA OF THE OATH: Northern Loyalty Tests During the Civil War and Reconstruction. By Harold Melvin Hyman. University of Pennsylvania Press. $5.

By Alexander E. Racolin

ADDRESSING himself to "the sober second thought of the community, which is the firm base on which all new law must ultimately rest," Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School reexamines some of the stereotype thinking about two of the provisions of the Fifth Amendment. Two papers are devoted to the provision that no person shall be compelled to testify against himself and one to the due-process clause.

Is it necessarily true that one who claims the privilege against self-incrimination is automatically guilty? Can an innocent person do so? Are there situations where the inference of guilt is not warranted? Calmly and dispassionately, Dean Griswold analyzes these questions and concludes that taking refuge in the Fifth Amendment is not equivalent to an admission of criminal conduct.

By the process of empathy, whereby the reader becomes the witness under interrogation, several hypothetical cases are examined. One is the case of a former member of the Communist Party, who joined in the thirties because he felt that he could thus more effectively resist evil political forces. He "never engaged in espionage or sabotage or anything like that, and never saw or heard of any such activities by any member of his group." Although ultimately he turned away, "he didn't doubt that many of the people who had been associated with him in the venture were just as innocent of wrongdoing as he was sure he was." In another case, though the witness had never joined the Communist Party, he had been interested in causes supported by Communists, had contributed to them, and had lent his name. Any inference of guilt because of the claim of privilege against self-incrimination by either witness—any demagogic label like "Fifth Amendment Communist"—Dean Griswold points out, would not be warranted.

And what of the witness wholly innocent but lost in the fear and confusion of television, radio microphone, movie cameras, flashing flash bulbs? What of the witness confronted with no clearly formulated charges, informed of no evidence to support the charges, given no opportunity to cross-examine other witnesses? What of the witness who may want to answer some questions yet cannot lest he lose the right to claim the Fifth Amendment on other questions? So long as the Supreme

ALEXANDER E. RACOLIN is a member of the New York Bar.

What are the Russians writing?

Many words have flowed from the Russian pen since the Revolution in 1917, and much controversy has raged in the West as to the influences that surround the Soviet writer.

Do authors in the Soviet Union have to "toe the line"? Is criticism stifled? Are novelists allowed a free hand to develop their own ideas, their own theme and style?

Soviet Literature, monthly magazine of writing and the arts from the Soviet Union, contains all that is relevant to this discussion. New writing, full-length novels, poetry, drama, art and literary criticism, articles by leading authors and, over the next few issues, the reports and discussions that took place at the Second Congress of Soviet Writers, recently held in Moscow.

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Court's decision in Rogers v. United States is on the books, the only safe course, the Dean concedes, may be to claim the privilege at the earliest possible moment. In England a witness may claim the privilege at any stage of the proceedings.

Another important factor he considers is the nature of the tribunal. Though careful to point out that he is not referring to any specific legislative committee, it is Dean Griswold's conclusion "that a congressional committee is not a place where the highest standards and the protection of the individual can always be found." The conceded propriety and usefulness of legislative investigations cannot be permitted to condone improperly conducted hearings, or the absence of adequate safeguards.

Mr. Hyman's book, though excellent in its treatment of a vital problem, the use of the loyalty oath between 1861 and 1884, is written in so dry and academic a manner that the general reader may have difficulty in plowing through it. However, the first third is the hardest, and the reader who perseveres will be rewarded. Mr. Hyman's conclusion may well be pondered today. Loyalty tests and oaths failed to separate the loyal from the disloyal, "for the oath was never a test of conscience but of political partisanship and acceptability. . . . It is difficult to substantiate the worth of the test oath even as a war-time measure. . . ."

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Roosevelt's Record

THE ROOSEVELT LEADERSHIP, 1933-1945. By Edgar Eugene Robinson. J. B. Lippincott Company. $6.

By Charles A. Madison

IN compliance with a businessman's posthumous grant of $25,000 for a "contemporary appraisal" of President Roosevelt "without fear, favor, or prejudice of any kind whatsoever," Professor Robinson was selected by the trustees to write this book. He has accomplished the assignment with academic competence. He scrupulously surveys the entire record and traces Roosevelt's political career with painstaking historical accuracy. In Part II he provides an analytical listing of the vast documentary and interpretative literature on which he based his evaluation of Roosevelt as a political leader.

For all his effort at objectivity Professor Robinson sometimes writes like a Hoover Republican. In appraising Roosevelt's record he concludes that his leadership "was injurious to the slow working of democracy as Americans know it"—meaning, of course, the kind of Americans he represents. Roosevelt, he maintains, had "supreme self-confidence," was "opportunistic and experimental," and did not hesitate to violate established governmental precepts and practices. "His entire approach," he comments critically, "was based upon the proposition that the government, that is, the people, was strong enough to do anything necessary." As a consequence of such leadership Roosevelt (1) invested the Executive with a tremendous concentration of power, (2) created a vast system of bureaucratic control of private business, and (3) shifted the government's role of umpire in conflicting economic interests, thereby committing us "to attributes of a collective state." Professor Robinson frowns on these changes and writes approvingly of Herbert Hoover's views on these matters—as if this country were still in the 1920's and not in the midst of an industrial mass-production and automation revolution that makes changes in government unavoidable.

As an admirer of Hoover, Professor Robinson logically assumes that Roosevelt's liberalism encouraged Communist infiltration in his Administration. He refers to the New Deal's "socialistic objectives" and states, "There was much in the conduct of the American Administration from 1933 to 1941 that suggested radical advance along the lines familiar in Communist propaganda." And in a bolstering footnote he quotes this irresponsible statement from Hoover's unpublished *Memoirs on Foreign Affairs:* "A dangerous number among the policy-making officials in the Administration were actual members of the Communist Party who were active traitors to the United States."

Roosevelt's Russian policy is of course treated critically. Professor Robinson deplores our recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933 as "opening the way to the long train of mistaken moves." One of these mistakes, he claims, was not to accept Hoover's advice in 1941 to let Russia and Germany destroy each other on the battlefield; suggesting that our aid to the Red Army helped to create the post-war Communist menace. He also argues that Roosevelt's effort to win Stalin's friendship was obvious "folly." Likewise, the concessions at Yalta were his "crowning mistake" and served later to communize Asia. In making these charges and criticisms Professor Robinson ignores such salient facts as the imminent menace of Hitlerism in 1941, the confident view of our military leaders that the Nazis would crush the Red Army in short order, the number of American lives saved as a result of the Russian front, the presumed need of the Red Army to help defeat Japan, and the basic factors that favored communism in China.

"The Roosevelt Leadership" is a work of thoroughgoing research but it is hardly without the "prejudice" stipulated in the donor's grant.

CHARLES A. MADISON, author of "Critics and Crusaders" and "American Labor Leaders," is completing a book on twentieth-century liberalism to be entitled "Dynamic Democracy."

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Books in Brief

Perilous Assignment

DUEL OF WITS. By Peter Churchill. Putnam's. $4.50.

What do stockbrokers think about? Captain Peter Churchill, who has been working on the London Stock Exchange since the war, must have had his mind filled while writing this book with the fantastic adventures of British secret agents and his own four missions to France, two by submarine and two by parachute jumps from planes.

His job was to allocate British arms and funds to resistance groups in southeastern France and to direct their activities. The rigorous training for this work with its intensive drilling in sabotage, disguises, parachuting, explosives, codes, field craft, and map-reading, as described in the first chapters, makes the most intriguing part of the book. Churchill recounts in minute detail the elaborate preparations for each single move in operations which are only incidental to the whole strategy. What may appear unduly, even tiresomely, cautious to the impatient reader in his safe arm-chair strikes him with shattering impact when he comes to the terse Biographical Index at the end of the book which lists the names of the seventy-two men and women who were Churchill's coworkers in France. After more than half of them stand the grim words Captured, Killed in Action, or Executed.

Churchill himself, together with a remarkable woman who served as his courier, were betrayed by one of their associates and spent two years in prison. Subsequently they were married to give the suitably romantic ending to an amazing true-adventure story.

Philosopher-at-Large

AMERICAN THOUGHT: A CRITICAL SKETCH. By Morris R. Cohen. Edited and with a Foreword by Felix S. Cohen. Free Press. $5.

This synopsis of currents of thought in the twentieth century will arouse mixed emotions in its readers —admiration for the breadth and depth of one who takes all knowledge as his province and the discouragement of the specialist who realizes that he hasn't seen the interrelatedness of things, as Morris R. Cohen preeminently does.

The scope of the volume is impressive. After an introductory outline of the forces which shaped American tradition, successive chapters deal with historical, scientific, economic, political, religious, and aesthetic writings. A final section covers general philosophy, from Fiske to Royce, James, Santayana, Dewey, and Whitehead. There are deft and lucid summaries and appraisals of the theories of no fewer than fifty-one men.

It is a hazardous task to select the foremost contentions of Dr. Cohen. Right or wrong, one is his insistence that the most fruitful approach to philosophical problems is through logic—not the Aristotelian kind, but the modern one based upon mathematics and the actual procedures of scientists. Distinctive of his outlook is his preference for the concept of the philosopher which derives from Plato and Spinoza—that he is above all a lover of ideas for their own intrinsic value.

Lest the impression be left that

Struggle For Social Justice: JEHOVAH VERSUS BAAL

Hebrew history was convulsed by a long struggle for social justice which was identical with the warfare of Jehovah (or Yahweh) against Baal. "The baals of Canaan are set over against Yahweh; and the name Baal becomes the very signature of Heathenism." Prof. Moore of Harvard (Commentary on Judges, P. 195). The actual force that created the One-God religion was precisely the long-continued struggle for social justice (not socialism or communism). This is the essential truth about Hebrew history; and it is an appalling fact that for centuries our churches and our religion have been so largely based upon a misinterpretation of Hebrw history. In other words, the Monotheism of Israel was not produced by a supernatural impulse, operating arbitrarily on a mountain-top in the desert of Arabia. It was, and is, a cultural achievement of the Hebrew people themselves.

Coming into view amidst the campaign of modern scientific scholarship as applied to Hebrew history, the foregoing considerations are securely enthroned in the faculties of our great institutions of learning, such as Yale, Harvard, Chicago, Duke, etc. Technical circumstances have prevented the religious public and the general public from assimilating the situation. But religion is on the eve of adjustment with a scientific chronology measured by millions of years instead of six thousand years. And the people are dimly aware that great changes are imminent. One of the circumstances retarding public opinion is the prevailing ideology of Individual Righteousness, or Salvation, which has been able to debar the proclamation of social justice from the pulpit for more than fifteen hundred years. You can help defeat Reaction!

Two circulars, entitled respectively (1) Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History, and (2) Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God, will be sent to you free, on condition that two three cent stamps are forwarded as partial coverage of mailing cost. — Write name and address very clearly on the outside and inside of your envelope. If no stamps are forwarded, no circulars will be sent. — L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Morris R. Cohen was altogether a recluse, it is well to recall his entrances into the arena of practical affairs, among them his participation in adult education and his fostering of the scientific exploration of conflicts in racial and international matters.

A full understanding of the sketch meets an obstacle. No section offers a rounded exposition of the philosophical position which this severe critic of other theorists had reached, after years of reflection. Academic philosophers familiar with the author's previous publications may not be concerned, but readers innocent of such technical knowledge are required to figure out the underlying assumptions.

Brief Flowering

THE CHICAGO RENAISSANCE IN AMERICAN LETTERS. A Critical History. By Bernard Duffey. Michigan State. $6.50.

There was a time—about 1916—when it appeared happily that the intense literary activity centered in Chicago might be the dawn of the really significant national literature prophesied by Whitman. That the great promise of Chicago's renaissance failed to materialize and that it was completely overshadowed by the sturdier achievements on the New York scene, we now understand. But what we may not understand so clearly—and this is where Duffey's history proves most helpful—is the background of the Midwestern flowering and the limitations within it from the first which ultimately brought about its demise.

In its first phase, from about 1890 to 1907, the Chicago renaissance flourished largely under the aegis of the genteel tradition. That old, maiming blight curbed what might otherwise have been free, spontaneous, American. The second and more promising phase, and for us today the most interesting by far, was marked by the protest of "the assertively liberated intellectual bohemians of the rising school," which, after 1910, gradually superseded the earlier "upward movement." Between 1912 and 1917 the literary frenzy of Chicago was at its most intense. After that peak, the major writers and journalists tended to depart for New York. Margaret Anderson had migrated there with her *Little Review* in 1916. Sherwood Anderson found more congenial spirits, like Waldo Frank and Paul Rosenfeld, among the New York intelligentsia than he knew in the West. Those who didn't escape to the East simply ceased to produce important work after 1920.

A single chapter devoted to Sherwood Anderson, Carl Sandburg, and Vachel Lindsay is perhaps the brightest spot in a book that is weighted down by a doggedly academic style.

Music

B. H. Haggin

EACH new work of Balanchine exhibits an extended and enriched vocabulary and new groupings and formations that are amazing evidence of his continuing creative power. One line of development is seen in the powerful modern-style movements and distortions of "Opus 34" and "Ivesiana"; another in the delicate intricacy that is one of the enchanting features of his new piece, "Roma." Enchanting too is a new counterpoint of slow against fast: the music, at one point in the first movement, continuing fast while two groups of boys and one of girls suddenly drop into a slow saunter as they look each other over; the boys continuing slow while the girls become increasingly animated; LeClercq, in the final tarentella, performing intricate fast steps while the boys' arms make an enormous slow circling movement; and other things of the sort. Bizet's unfamiliar and charming music adds to the effectiveness of the piece; Eugene Berman's costumes, unattractive in design and color, diminish it: LeClercq's movements are contrived to make exquisite use of her long silhouette, which the costume chops in two, with the result that the loveliness of her dancing isn't fully revealed. Eglevsky is luckier in having nothing to obscure his brilliant performance of the delicate intricacies that keep him too busy to get in more than an occasional Eglevskyism.

It is in these delicate intricacies, as well as the usual spectacular feats, that Eglevsky and his two partners—chosen from Wilde, Hayden, LeClercq, and Adams—exhibit their virtuosity in the new "Pas de trois II." Another unusual feature that contributes to making this Balanchine's finest piece of its kind is the continuity in the progression of movement employing now one dancer, now the other, now these two, now those, and now all three. And the piece gains from being danced to charming music by Glinka.

Last fall's "Ivesiana" was given this time with the "Hallowe'en" episode replaced by one called "Arguments," in which—to the music of a quartet movement by Ives in which the four string voices scream at each other—a couple of youngsters who alternate between quarreling and making love are disturbed by three female busybodies with whom they get into a wrangle in the amusingly visible form of a Balanchine labyrinth of intertwining bodies violently stepping over and under the locked arms. Also, last fall's "Western Symphony," which was effective and funny without costumes, was made twice as effective and funny with marvelous costumes by Karinska which pointed up the movements and jokes. LeClercq's hat—to say nothing of the way she wore it—was alone worth the price of admission.

In addition Balanchine restored the original Tchaikowsky music for the conclusion of the pas de deux in "Swan Lake"—engaging music in fast tempo, for which he devised a brilliant conclusion employing the corps. I saw one performance of "Swan Lake" with Adams, who danced with a touching personal sweetness and warmth, but without the strength and stamina required by some of the brilliant passages, and also without the clear outlining of her moving body that LeClercq achieved. Nor was this all that LeClercq achieved: the increased continuity in slow movement that showed itself in the Andante of "Concert Barocco" in the way her

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arm and hand carried through the turn of her body, showed itself also in the new way her slow movements filled out time in the pas de deux of "Swan Lake."

I turned on the radio for the Metropolitan's broadcast of "Otello" the first time just as Del Monaco was about to begin the first-act duet; and I was surprised to hear a clear, resonant vocal timbre instead of the dry, rasping, toneless sound of previous occasions; but this more agreeable voice was kept, in that quiet opening passage, at an unvarying forte unmitigated by the slightest trace of lyricism. Then Tebaldi answered; and I was shocked even more than I had been in the Metropolitan a week earlier by the extreme self-indulgence of her performance: there was not one sung musical phrase, but only a constant manipulation of the voice in expansions and contractions of tone that were lingered over in phrases that lost their continuity. In the great *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* of the third act too Del Monaco's voice had a clear vocal timbre, as against the rasping, husky tonelessness in the London recorded performance; but though clear it had nothing like the luster and beauty of Vinay's voice in that passage in Toscanini's recorded performance; and in the climactic pianissimo on the words *volere del ciel* it became unpleasantly dry. And in the *Ave Maria* Tebaldi exhibited the same self-indulgence as in the first-act duet.

In this she had the indulgence of Stiedry, who waited while she lingered over her expansions and contractions of tone, and who thus allowed the music to be robbed of continuity. But what happened here was only an exaggeration of what happened elsewhere in the slack, uncohesive performance that Stiedry produced. The effect of *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* in the Toscanini performance comes not merely from Vinay's beautiful singing but from the orchestral context—with its continuous tension that begins in the first chromatic descent of the low strings and continues in the development of the repeated violin figure to that wonderful climactic pianissimo on *volere del ciel*. And there was nothing of this sort in the passage as it came over the air from the Metropolitan.

Letters

'Damned With Faint Praise'

Dear Sirs: Those of us who have studied Puerto Rico's effort at self-betterment were taken aback at seeing it damned with faint praise by John V. Murra in reviewing Earl Parker Hanson's book, "Transformation: The Story of Modern Puerto Rico" (The Nation, February 26). . . .

Mr. Murra has a way of annihilating information with semantically charged phrases like "myth." As one example, Dr. Hanson's book-length evidence favoring Governor Luis Munoz Marin is annihilated by Murra in two ironical references to the Governor as "Mr. Hanson's hero."

The principal device throughout the review, however, consists of transposing the problems after the solutions, to give to the negative side an appearance of crushing finality. Let Dr. Hanson point out that Puerto Rican living standards, although not yet high enough, have risen phenomenally, and Mr. Murra simply says instead that although they have risen phenomenally, they are not high enough.

In addition to arguments that are not arguments (and leave nothing to answer), Mr. Murra annexes darkly hinted information that is no information. Thus we are told the United States holds that Puerto Rico is no longer a colony, whereas India questioned this, with no opportunity given us to learn and judge the United States answer to such an all-important question.

Mr. Murra's more tangible offerings of information are nothing short of incredible. To imply colonial status, his main political point is that "Congress still has veto power over insular legislation" (this is certainly not in the federal compact with Puerto Rico); his main economic one is that "Puerto Rico is not allowed to refine even enough (sugar) for its own needs" and must reimport its own sugar from mainland refineries (a fantastic misrepresentation of Dr. Hanson's statements).

Or we are told that Puerto Rico's factories "with few exceptions are small units" (so are New York's or Chicago's, if this is by purely numerical count) and these are "fly-by-night enterprises." Just a couple of oil refineries, obscure names like Beaunit and Textron in textile mills, Seagram and Schenley distilleries, the makers of such ephemeral items as Remington electric shavers, Dutch Masters cigars, Paper Mate pens, Univis optical lenses, Sylvania electronic equipment, Van Raalte gloves, A. S. Beck shoes, U. S. Rubber, almost every big brand name in brassieres, and a long list of equally known products I shall be happy to supply.

The review does not mention these any more than it even hints at the schools, low-cost housing projects, hospital services, highways—indeed one is left to wonder at how Puerto Rico achieved the higher literacy, health, and living standards (a per capita income that has, incidentally, quadrupled since 1940) which Mr. Murra airily admits with a to-be-sure.

FRANCES R. GRANT
Secretary General, Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Murra's Reply

Dear Sirs: I share Miss Grant's affection for Puerto Rico and her admiration for the efforts they are mak-

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The story of Pierre Poujade, the man who called a tax strike against the government of France.

By J. Alvarez del Vayo

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FORUM

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'China & U. S. Policy'
Which Road for America?
A Clash of Views:
Prof. Derk Bodde
Author "Peking Diary"; 10 yrs. in China
Miss Tseng Pao-Swen
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ing to solve their many problems. I had not realized that such devotion implied commitment to any particular solution.

Miss Grant's letter states that per capita income has quadrupled since 1940; Dr. Rafael Pico, head of the insular planning board, writing in The Town Planning Review for 1953, tells us that net per capita income shows a 74 per cent gain; the difference between the two figures is, of course, due to inflation. Need one claim a 300 per cent gain when 74 per cent is really a remarkable achievement?

If we consult the several income studies published by the University of Puerto Rico, we discover that "the most important cause in raising insular income was the increase in wages and salaries paid by the insular and federal governments," which included army pay and GI benefits, as indicated in my review. The sources of capital for new houses in the villages our research team studied in 1947 indicates that army benefits and remittances from New York are the two main sources of village expansion. We welcome such contributions to Puerto Rican welfare, but they are not a part of Operation Bootstrap.

Miss Grant is right in stating that the federal compact with Puerto Rico includes no veto provision. And yet, if we consider the compact in its wider setting, if we remember how Congress struck out Section 20 of the new Puerto Rican Bill of Rights dealing with social and economic matters, if we notice the many sections of the Organic Act of 1947 which are continued in the Federal Relations Statute, we can see why Dean Pedro Munoz Amato of the University of Puerto Rico, writing in the January, 1953, Annals, felt that past Congressional behavior "reveals how precarious is the understanding of Congress as to the right of the Puerto Rican people to govern themselves democratically" and why "it is not yet clear whether the Federal Relations Statute will be amended exclusively by Congress or bilaterally in consultation with the Puerto Rican people." Dr. Peter J. Fliess, writing in the Western Political Quarterly for December, 1952, goes farther: the debate in Congress over Public Law 600 shows that its unilateral repeal is a real possibility. My review indicated that considerable advance in local self-government had been gained; one need only check these two articles by competent political scientists to verify my assertion that the new constitution represents very little change.

If one may venture a prediction, in years to come the chief accomplishment of the Munoz regime will be recognized as the reintroduction of Spanish as the language of instruction, the land reform, the end of foreclosures and vote-selling, the optimism and hope I mentioned in my review. The main changes in Puerto Rican social organization, the emergence of an active and new middle class, will be recognized as financed by GI benefits, New York remittances, and fifteen years of war-time and post-war prosperity. Operation Bootstrap, stripped of its public relations aspect will then be seen in its proper perspective.

JOHN MURRA
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

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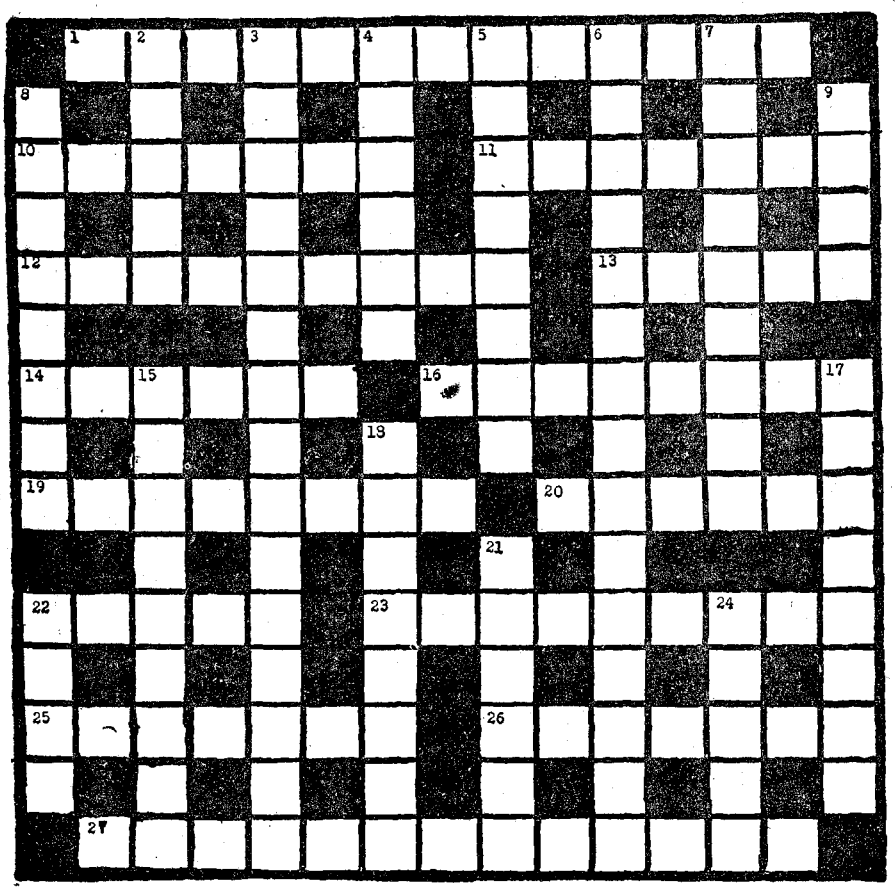
Crossword Puzzle No. 612

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 22 down.

10 Antony said Casca was, in referring to the rent. (7)

11 One way of being firm. (7)

12 Such particles remain suspended indefinitely. (9)

13 Sound the charge, or make it up? (5)

14 This has a real existence. (6)

16 Deeply affected. (8)

19 You'll find more lost in the orchestra! (8)

20 The Bride of Lammermoor's last name is a lot to refuse! (6)

22 A model of disappointment? (5)

23 Flay. (9)

25 Certainly doesn't typify the "Big Sleep." (7)

26 Dissolves, perhaps, in size 0. (7)

27 Centers can end this superior state. (13)

DOWN

2 Not the right inclination! (5)

3 The height of battle? (7,8)

4 Not the exterior of the Gunther series. (6)

5 Perfect degree like an instrument. (8)

6 One would hardly be well paid with this. (6, 9)

7 Sound familiar to those from Massachusetts. (9)

8 Agnostic. (8)

9 See 22 down

15 Rid mother of this from July 19 to Aug. 17. (9)

17 Associated with stuff. (8)

18 Having a purpose, since changed in debate. (8)

21 One of the three unities. (6)

22 1 across, and 9 down Damaging, as one who might raise the price of tea? (4, 1, 4, 2, 1, 5, 4)

24 He fights from down under. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 611

ACROSS: 10 DECLINE; 11 and 12 A FINGER IN THE PIE; 13 KNAVE; 15 and 6 ASCOT TIES; 17 DECREMENT; 19 LIGATURES; 21 DEWAN; 23 RAISE; 24 OVERCALL; 27 ALFALFA; 28 INLAYER; 29 DANK; 30 BRASS-BOUND. DOWN: 1 WADI; 2 LACONIC; 3 IRISH; 5 MEADE; 7 INGRATE; 8 SERPENTINE; 9 MILKWEED; 18 COSMETICS; 20 GRIFFIN; 22, 1 across, 14, 4. and 16 WILL YOU WALK INTO MY PARLOR SAID THE SPIDER TO THE FLY; 24 ON AIR; 25 CALEB; 26 ARID.

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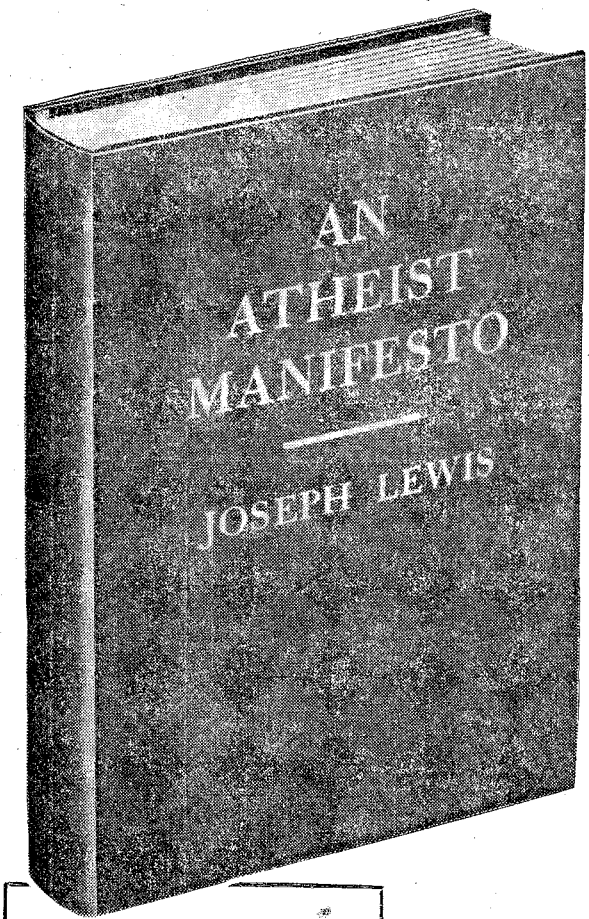

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